

T H E
ROMAN HISTORY
B Y
TITUS LIVIUS;
WITH THE
ENTIRE SUPPLEMENT
O F
JOHN FREINSHEIM;

Translated into ENGLISH, and illustrated with
geographical and chronological Notes.

V O L. II.



L O N D O N:

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1. 2. 3. 4. Oppida
Venetorum, quæ
Casar describit,
at non nominat

GALLIA
VETVS

V. 2. d.

THE ROMAN HISTORY,

BY

TITUS LIVIUS of *Padua*.

B O O K IV.

THEY had by this means put the enemy CHAP. XXXIII.
 into some disorder at the very first onset, Y. of R. 329.
 when on a sudden a new and extraordinary B. J. C. 423.
 kind of army, never heard of before this
 time, sallied out at the gates of Fidenæ. It consisted of
 a vast number of men armed with fire and shining with
 the flames of burning torches, who, with a kind of
 enthusiastick rage, ran furiously against their enemies,
 and for a short time this uncommon method of fight-
 ing put the Romans into a fright. Upon this the
 dictator, animating the battle by calling Quinctius
 down from the mountains, and ordering the general
 of the horse to engage, run himself to the left wing,
 which, frightened at an appearance more like a conflagration than a battle, had retired from the flames,
 and called to them with an audible voice, “ Will
 “ you then like a swarm of bees, defeat by a little
 “ smoke, quit your ground and yield the victory to
 “ an unarmed enemy? Why don’t you extinguish
 “ these flames by the dint of your swords? Or if
 “ we

CHAP. " we must fight with fire and not arms, why does
 XXXIII. " not every one pull the brands out of the hands of
 " the enemy and turn them against their owners?
 " Take courage, and calling to mind the Roman
 " name, and your own as well as your ancestors va-
 " lor, turn this burning against the hostile city, and
 " destroy by it's own fire the town of Fidenæ, whose
 " good-will you could never procure by your favors.
 " This is what the blood of your ambassadors and
 " colony, as well as the ravages committed upon
 " your dominions, demand at your hands." The
 whole army was so moved by the dictator's orders,
 that some snatched up the torches which were thrown
 at them, others by force wrested them out of the
 enemy's hands, and both armies were armed with
 fire. The general of the horse also made his cavalry
 engage in a new method; for he ordered his men to
 pull the bits out of their horses mouths, and hav-
 ing taking off the bridle, put spurs to his own,
 and was the first who drove at full speed into the
 middle of the fire, the other horses, put to the gallop,
 carried their riders at full career to the enemy. And
 the dust they raised, mixing with the smoke, kept
 the light from the eyes both of the men and their
 horses. But the sight which affrighted the former did
 not at all terrify the latter; so that the cavalry,
 wherever they went, made such havock as nearly re-
 sembled that occasioned by the fall of a house. By
 this time a new shout was heard, which surprized
 and drew the attention of both armies, till the dic-
 tator cry'd out, that the lieutenant-general Quinctius
 and his men had attacked the enemy's rear; and thus
 said, gave a fresh shout and renewed the charge with
 greater vigor. As the Hetrurians thus incompassed
 by their enemies, and distressed by two armies at
 the same time, fighting against them in front and
 rear, could neither retreat to their camp, nor fly
 to the mountains, whence a fresh army had march-
 ed against them, and the unbridled horses had dis-
 persed the Roman cavalry every where, the greatest
 par

part of the Veientes^a fled with great precipitation to the Tiber, and all the Fidenates who were yet left alive, to their own city of Fidenæ. Their panic fear and precipitate flight hurried the Veientes to death and slaughter. Some were slain upon the banks of the river, others driven into the water and carried down by the stream, even those who could swim were sunk by the pain of their wounds, weariness and fear, and a very few out of great numbers got to the other side. The other part of their routed army fled through their own camp into the town, thither the Romans also furiously pursued them, especially Quinctius and those who with him had lately come down from the mountains, being the freshest troops, because the battle was very near at an end before they engaged.

CHAP.
XXXIII.

THESE having entered the gate of the city pell-mell with the enemy, immediately got up upon the walls, and from them gave a signal to acquaint the rest of their army that the town was taken. By this time the dictator had got into the enemy's camp which they had abandoned, and the soldiers were impatient to leave their ranks and gather the spoils of it; but as soon as he observed the signal, encouraging his men with the hopes of a greater booty in the town, he led them to the gate, and being admitted within the walls, march'd directly to the citadel, whither he saw the enemies flying in greatest crowds. Nor was the slaughter less in the city than it had been in the field, until the Fidenates laid down their

CHAP.
XXXIV.

^a Livy in this sentence does not expressly mention the Veientes, but leaves the reader to gather from the connexion that what is here said must be understood of them; and indeed nothing can be more obvious, for who should be slain on the banks of the Tiber or drown'd in it's stream, but those who fled to it, that is the Veientes, as we are expressly told in the preceding sentence. Again, those here mentioned are in the following passage distinguished from the other part of the army who fled to Fidenæ, i. e.

the Fidenates, and consequently can be no other than the Veientes, seeing the whole army was composed of these two nations only. This is so plain that we should have taken no notice of it if several expositors, and in particular Mr. Guérin the author of the late French translation, had not by implicitly following Dujatius fallen into a mistake upon this subject, and thereby betrayed himself into a direct contradiction by supposing the Fidenates to be intended in this expression.

CHAP. arms, and asking no terms, but quarter for their
 XXXIV. lives, surrendered themselves at discretion. The town
 and camp were both plundered. Next day the dictator disposed of his prisoners by lot, assigning one to each of the knights and centurions, and to those who had distinguished themselves in the battle two apiece. And having sold the rest by auction, he led back his army crowned with victory and loaded with spoils, and entered the city in triumph. Then he ordered the general of the horse to resign his office, and quitted his own the sixteenth day after he received it, yielding up in peace an authority which he had been invested with in time of war and great danger to the state. It is also recorded in some annals that the Romans had a naval ^a engagement with the Veientes at Fidenæ; but this is as impossible as it appears incredible, for even at this day the river is not broad enough for that purpose; and yet, according to the accounts of ancient authors, it was then something narrower than it is now. Possibly the Romans may have driven off some boats which came to assist the Veientes in passing the river, and this circumstance, as commonly happens, has been magnified by those who were fond of the empty title of a naval victory.

CHAP. THE next year the administration was put in the
 XXXV. hands of these military tribunes with consular power,
 viz. A. Sempronius Atratinus, L. Quinctius Cincin-

^a If we suppose our author to have taken the genuine sense of those annals which he quotes in this place, the argument he uses is sufficient to expose the falshood of them in this particular. But some commentators are of opinion, that what he asserts proceeds from a mistake of a passage in these annals: to this purpose they observe that the word *classis*, which is that upon which he builds his conjecture, originally signified a body of horse drawn up in the line of battle, and that the author of the annals here mentioned had taken the word in this sense. To this purpose sever-

ral authorities are produced. Those taken from Virgil, viz.—*Scio me Danais e classibus unum*, &c. *Æneid.* lib. 2. and —*classibus his locus*, &c. *ibid* are capable of another signification but it cannot be denied that Gellius lib. 1. cap. 11. and lib. 10. cap. 25. use the expression *armatas classes* for an army drawn up in battalia. An Festus expressly says that the word *classis* was used to signify a multitude of men before it was applied to a fleet of ships. And it is not impossible that Livy might in some instance mistake the meaning of old historians.

natus, L. Furius Medullinus and L. Horatius Barbatus. A truce was granted to the Veientes for twenty years, but for three only to the Æqui, though they had demanded it for a longer term, and the city had rest from civil broils and contentions. Though the following year was remarkable neither for foreign war, nor domestic dissentions, it was however famous by means of the games ^a which had been vowed in time of war, on account of the great preparations the military tribunes made for them, and also the vast numbers, which resorted to them from the neighbouring nations. The military tribunes with consular power for this year were Ap. Claudius Crassus, Sp. Nautius Rutilus, L. Sergius Fidenas and Sextus Julius Iulus. The shews gave the greater pleasure to the strangers who had come to see them with the consent of their respective states, by reason of the kind and engaging behaviour of those who entertained them at Rome. Immediately after these diversions the tribunes made seditious harangues to the people, wherein they severely chid them “ for their stupid admiration of those
“ whom at bottom they hated, by which means
“ they kept themselves in perpetual bondage : and
“ not only durst not aspire to the hopes of sharing
“ the consulship with the patricians, but even could
“ not think of themselves nor their friends in the
“ election of military tribunes, wherein they had
“ an equal concern with the senators. They should
“ therefore cease to wonder that none studied to promote the interests of the people. Men chose to bestow their labor, and expose themselves to dangers upon prospects of profit and honor, and would attempt matters of the greatest difficulty if their rewards were proportioned to the greatness and vigor of their endeavours. Therefore they ought neither to expect nor desire that a tribune

CHAP.
XXXV.

Military
tribuneship
A. Sempronius Atratinus, L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, L. Furius Medullinus and L. Hor. Barbatus.
Y. of R. 330.
B. J. C. 422.

Military
tribuneship
Ap. Claud. Crassus, Sp. Nautius Rutilus, L. Sergius Fidenas and Sextus Julius Iulus.
Y. of R. 331.
B. J. C. 421.

^a We are told cap. 32. that Æmilius the dictator vowed to celebrate them when he marched out of the city ; but it is not said what games they were, though it is most proba-

ble they were some kind of horse races, this supposition being most agreeable to the practice and example of Romulus the founder of the city.

CHAP.
XXXV.

“ of the people should inconsiderately involve him-
 “ self in disputes attended with great danger, and
 “ no sort of advantage; disputes, by which he is
 “ sure to incur the implacable resentment and end-
 “ less persecution of the senators against whom he
 “ contends, and yet can expect no farther regard or
 “ honor from the people whose interests he strives
 “ to promote. Great preferments produce great
 “ courage, and no man will undervalue himself for
 “ being a plebeian when the commons cease to de-
 “ spise him on that account. To conclude, they
 “ ought to try in an instance or two, whether any
 “ plebeian is able to bear the weight of a great of-
 “ fice in the state, whether it is a kind of wonder or
 “ prodigy to find a man of courage or merit who
 “ derives his birth from the commons. It was car-
 “ ried after a very great struggle, that military tri-
 “ bunes with consular power should be created, and
 “ that they might be chosen out of the body of the
 “ people. In consequence of this men, who had di-
 “ stinguished themselves in the arts of war and peace,
 “ had offered themselves as candidates for that ho-
 “ nor. But in the first years they had been insulted,
 “ rejected and exposed to the ridicule of the sena-
 “ tors; therefore at last they had ceased to lay them-
 “ selves open to these affronts. Nor could they see
 “ a reason why even the law should not be repealed
 “ which left the people at liberty to do what was
 “ never like to be actually done, for it would be less
 “ shameful to be excluded from offices of state by
 “ an unjust law, than to be passed by and neglected
 “ as unworthy.”

CHAP.
XXXVI.

HARANGUES of this kind heard with ap-
 plause induced some plebeians to stand candidates
 for the office of military tribune: the several candi-
 dates proposing to get different laws for the advan-
 tage of the commons pass'd during their administra-
 tion. The people were encouraged to hope that the
 lands belonging to the public should be distributed
 among

among them, new colonies should be planted, and a tax laid upon the proprietors of lands to raise a fund for the payment of the army. Upon this the military tribunes watched an opportunity, when a great part of the people being out of town, the senators should be secretly summoned to return against a certain day, and in the absence of the tribunes of the people pass a decree, that as it was furnished the Volsci had marched to ravage the lands of the Hernici, the military tribunes should set out for that country to satisfy themselves concerning the truth of that report; and in the mean time the comitia should be held for the election of consuls. At their departure they left, as prefect of the city, Appius Claudius the son of the decemvir, a young magistrate of great activity, and who had from his cradle been trained up in an habitual aversion to the people and their tribunes. Nor had these tribunes afterwards room to contend with those who had procured this act of senate, because they were absent, nor with Appius, because the scheme was laid before he was governor of the city^a.

CHAP.
XXXVI.

THE consuls elected were C. Sempronius Atratinus and Q. Fabius Vibulanus. An event which happened this year, though foreign to the affairs of Rome, deserves however to be mentioned here; I mean that Vulturnum^a, a city of the Hetrurians, now called

CHAP.
XXXVII.
C. Sempronius Atratinus and Q. Fabius Vibulanus consuls.
Y. of R. 332.
B. J. C. 420.

^a It would seem from some circumstances here mentioned, that this Appius the son of the decemvir, and who upon this occasion was made governor of the city, was not the same person with the military tribune of that name, because had he been one of these consular tribunes who were then at the helm, he as well as his colleagues would have been concerned in procuring the act of senate for holding the consular comitia. Upon which supposition, if there had been no ground to quarrel with him because the affair was over, neither would

there have been room for finding fault with the rest upon that score, though they had been on the spot as well as he. But if notwithstanding this we will suppose him to have been the same with the consular tribune of that name, which is Sigonius's opinion, we must also suppose, that upon some necessary occasion he was absent when the act of senate was passed, and had no direct hand in the contrivance for disappointing the people and their tribunes.

^a Velleius Paterculus is of opinion that Capua was built by the Hetrurians

CHAP.
XXXVII.

called Capua, was taken by the Samnites, and is supposed to have had it's modern name either from Capys the general of that people, or which is more likely, from it's being a champain country. But whatever be in this conjecture, the Samnites made themselves masters of it in the following manner. Having tired out the Hetrurians by a tedious war, they first prevailed upon them to admit them to settle with them in the city and it's territory : and some time after the new comers, taking the advantage of a solemn festival, fell upon the old inhabitants, oppressed with sleep and feasting, and murdered them all in one night. But to return from this digression. Immediately after these transactions, the consuls already mentioned entered upon their office, on the thirteenth of December. And now not only those who were sent for the purpose had brought advice, that a war with the Volsci was upon the point of breaking out, but also the ambassadors of the Latines and Hernici gave information, that that people had never upon any former occasion been more careful and active in electing generals and levying an army, and were giving out every where, that they must now give up with war for ever, forget their arms and tamely sub-

rians eight and forty years before Rome was founded ; and if we will believe Servius it's original name was Aliternum, which the Latines changed to Vulturnum, a name the river that runs along the tract of land upon which it stood retains to this day. The same Servius in a note of his, upon a passage in the tenth book of Virgil's *Æn.* says it had the name of Capua from a falcon which was observed in taking an augury, because this bird in the ancient language of the Hetrurians is called Capys. Our author derives it from Capys the general of the Samnites, who this year made themselves masters of the city, or from the champain country in which it stood. Whatever be in these conjectures, it would seem that the Samnites who had been but lately planted in it, massacred the ancient inhabitants in a most treacherous manner after they

had been three hundred seventy-nine years in possession of it. Capua was also reckoned one of the three most considerable cities in the world, and though inferior to Rome and Carthage, yet for some time rivall'd them both. It was once quite destroyed, and afterwards rebuilt. Some few of it's ruins yet remain near a populous village called *Sante Maria di Capoa*. Nova Capua which stands about two miles from it, near the ruins of old Casilinum, comes vastly short of the beauty, grandeur and extent of the old. In it was found the tomb of Capys it's founder, and there, as we are informed by Sueton, the colony that was planted by Cæsar the dictator, dug up an inscription which foretold his death. It is now called Capoue, and situated in one of the principal provinces of the kingdom of Naples.

mit to the yoke of servitude, or be no longer inferior to those with whom they contended for empire in personal bravery, patience under hardships or military discipline. Nor were these accounts groundless ; but the senators were not much mov'd by them. C. Sempronius also, who by lot had the command in that war, depended upon fortune as if she was never liable to change ; and because he led the army of a victorious people against a conquered enemy, performed all the duties of his office in a careless inconsiderate manner. So that there was more of the Roman discipline in the army of the Volsci than in their own ; and therefore fortune, as it has often happened on other occasions, ranged herself upon the side of merit. In the first battle, which Sempronius fought without due precaution or consideration, he engaged without forming a body of reserve to support his line of battle, and without posting his horse in a proper place. The shouts on each side first discovered the turn which matters were like to take, for that raised by the enemy was loud and constant, while that of the Romans was confused, unequal, faint and often repeated, and by it's discord betrayed the fear which prevailed in their minds. This encouraged the enemy to charge them with the greater fury, press hard upon them with their shields, and ply their glittering swords. On the other side the soldiers stared about them, their helmets nodded on their heads, and as they were at a loss what to do, they trembled and run together in crowds. Sometimes the colors standing still were abandoned by those who fought in the front ranks, at other times they were moved backwards, and planted amidst their own squadrons ; yet they had not resolved to fly, nor had victory fully declared for the other side ; but the Romans fought rather to cover themselves from the blows of their enemies than to return them, while in the mean time the Volsci advanced their standards, pressed hard upon the Roman ranks, and saw more of them slain than put to flight.

AND

CHAP. AND now the Romans began to lose ground
 xxxviii. every where ; and the consul Sempronius in vain had
 recourse to reproaches and exhortations. Neither his
 authority nor the majesty of his person made the
 least impression ; and they would have soon turned
 their backs to the enemy, had not Sextus Tempa-
 nius a decurio of the horse, supported them by his
 presence of mind and ready assistance. When they
 were on the point of being entirely routed, this brave
 man cry'd out with a loud voice, that those of the
 horse, who wished the safety of the state, should im-
 mediately dismount ; and as all the squadrons paid
 the same regard to his words as they would have
 done to the orders of the consul, he added, “ un-
 “ less this armed body of ours stop the enemy's ca-
 “ reer, the Roman empire is ruined : follow there-
 “ fore my lance instead of a standard, and convince
 “ both the Romans and Volsci, that as no cavalry
 “ can equal you when on horseback, so no infantry
 “ can match you when you fight on foot.” The
 horse expressed their approbation by a shout, and, he
 advancing at their head with his spear aloft, forced
 their way wherever they went. They covered them-
 selves with their shields, charged the enemy where
 they saw their friends in greatest distress, and where
 they once attacked never failed to restore the fortune
 of the battle. Nor is there ground to doubt, but, had
 it been possible for such a small number of men to
 make head every where at the same time, the ene-
 mies must have been put to flight.

CHAP. AS their fury could not be sustain'd by any part
 xxxix. of the opposite army, the general of the Volsci gave
 a signal to his troops to make way for this new bat-
 talion with the round bucklers, until their own
 forwardness should carry them so far that they could
 be separated from the rest of their army. This was
 no sooner done than the cavalry found their com-
 munication with the Roman army quite cut off by
 the

the Volsci, nor could they force their way back at the same place, the enemies having closed and extremely strengthened that part of their line : mean time the consul and the Roman legions losing sight of those who had but just before been the bulwark of the whole army, exposed themselves to all hazards to prevent the enemy's quite surrounding and overpowering such a number of brave men, while the Volsci making a double front, on the one side sustain'd the charge of the consul and his legions, and on the other press'd hard upon Tempanius and his horse. The later having often attempted in vain to break through the enemy's line, and join their own army, at last took possession of an eminence, where, drawing up in a circular form, they defended themselves, so as, at the same time, to make great havock among their adversaries, and the battle lasted till night. The consul also ply'd the enemy without the least intermission so long as there was light, and till darkness obliged the two armies to part without knowing which had the advantage. The terror this occasioned on both sides was so great, that leaving their wounded, and a great part of their baggage, they retired to the nearest mountains, and each party thought themselves defeated. The Volsci however kept the eminence invested till midnight, when they were informed that their camp was abandoned, and believing their army routed, every one shifted for himself under the covert of the darkness as the panic directed him. Tempanius for fear of an ambuscade kept his men in their post till day-light, when going out himself with a few of them to observe the motions of the enemy, he was informed by some of their wounded, that the camp of the Volsci was abandoned. Upon this he gladly called his men from the eminence and marched to the Roman camp, where he found all abandoned, and in the same desolation he had observed in that of the enemies ; therefore as he knew not to what place the consul had retired, he resolved before the enemy

enemy should find out their mistake and return, to carry with him as many of the wounded as he could, and march the shortest way to Rome.

CHAP.
XL.

THE news of this unfortunate action, and that the camp was abandoned, had already reached the city. The loss of the horse especially was much lamented, and not by their own particular friends more than by the people in general. As the city was in great consternation, the consul Fabius had posted himself with a body of men before the gates, when the cavalry, observed at a distance, alarmed the citizens, as long as they knew not who they were; but soon after when they were known by their countrymen they converted their fear into such an excess of joy, that the whole city resounded with the shouts of those who congratulated their safe and victorious return; and those families, who but a little before had been in great affliction, and concluded their nearest relations lost, run out to the streets in transports. Even the fearful mothers and wives forgetting decency in their excess of joy, went to meet the troops, and embrac'd their sons and husbands with such transports of passion and tenderness, as nearly approach'd distraction. Mean time the tribunes of the people who had impeached M. Posthumius and T. Quinctius, because by their means the Roman army had been defeated at Veii, thought the present resentment of the people against the consul Sempronius would furnish a proper handle for renewing the old grudge against them. Therefore having called an assembly, and urged with great vehemence, that because the commonwealth had been betray'd by it's generals at Veii, and they escaped with impunity, the consul had betray'd the army in the country of the Volsci, given up the bravest of the cavalry to destruction, and shamefully abandoned the camp. And one of them, C. Julius, having ordered the knight Tempanius to be called, in their presence addressed him thus, "Sextus Tempanius, I ask you, whether

CHAP. XL.

“ whether you think C. Sempronius the consul, ei-
 “ ther engaged the enemy at a proper time, sup-
 “ ported his line of battle with bodies of reserve,
 “ or in any respect acted the part of a good consul?
 “ Did not you, when the Roman legions were de-
 “ feated, by your own address, persuade the horse
 “ to dismount, and renew the battle? And when
 “ you with the rest of the cavalry was separated
 “ from the army, did the consul come to your assis-
 “ tance in person, or send you relief? Had you next
 “ day any reinforcement, or did not you and your
 “ squadrons make your way to the Roman camp by
 “ your own valor? Did you find the consul or his
 “ army in the camp? Or was it abandoned by all
 “ except the wounded men who were left in it to
 “ shift for themselves? These questions you are to
 “ answer this day, upon your veracity and valor,
 “ which has been the only support of the common-
 “ wealth in the present war; and, to conclude, you
 “ are to give information where C. Sempronius and
 “ the legions are now; whether you was abandon-
 “ ed yourself, or abandoned the consul and the
 “ army? and whether we have got the victory or
 “ are defeated?”

CHAP. XLI.

IT is said that Tempanius's speech, in answer to
 this, was not set off with rhetorical ornaments, but
 grave and in the stile of a soldier, not swell'd with his
 own praises, nor enlivened with censures upon other
 mens conduct. “ That to pass a judgment of the mi-
 “ litary abilities of C. Sempronius his general was not
 “ his province, who was only a private officer, but
 “ that of the Roman people, who had decided the case
 “ at the comitia, when they elected him consul. For
 “ this reason they ought not to examine him concern-
 “ ing the plans which ought to be laid by a general
 “ for the operations of the war, nor the talents ne-
 “ cessary for discharging the office of consul, which
 “ were points that required the serious consideration
 “ of persons of the greatest genius and penetration;
 “ but

CHAP.

XLI.



“ but he could give a just account of what he had
 “ seen, which was, that before he was separated from
 “ the army, he observed the consul fighting at the head
 “ of his troops, amidst the standards, encouraging
 “ the soldiers, and exposed to the darts of the enemy :
 “ afterwards he lost sight of his own army, but he
 “ understood by the noise and shouts that the battle
 “ was continued till night. Nor, considering the
 “ numbers of the enemy, did he believe it was
 “ possible for Sempronius to break through them,
 “ and penetrate to the rising ground which he had
 “ seized. He knew not where the army was, and
 “ as in time of extreme danger, he had secured
 “ himself and his troops by the natural advan-
 “ tages of the place where he posted them, so he
 “ doubted not but, for the preservation of the army,
 “ the consul had retired to some place of greater
 “ safety than his own camp. Nor did he imagine
 “ that the affairs of the Volsci were in a better situa-
 “ tion than those of the people of Rome ; fortune
 “ and the darkness of the night had led both sides
 “ into many mistakes concerning one another.” Hav-
 ing thus spoke, he entreated they would not detain
 him longer, as he was tired out with the fatigue of his
 march and the pain of his wounds. Upon which he
 was dismissed, and as highly applauded on account
 of his moderation as of his valor. By this time the
 consul was come to the temple of Quies^a in the
 Lavican way^b, whither waggons and horses were
 sent from the city to take up the soldiers quite spent
 with the fatigue of the battle and marching all night.
 A little after he arrived at the city, and was not

^a In the description of the city of Rome, there is mention made of a temple of *Quies* or *Rest*, near the Colline gate. Ferrarius says it was not far from the city, and stood on the same spot where we have now the temple dedicated to St. Peter, St. Paul and St. Marcelline ; but the Lavican way takes it's rise from the Esquiline, not the Colline gate, and yet Livy at least supposes that the temple of

Quies stood near it.

^b So named from the city of Lavicum, begun at the Esquiline gate, and leaving Lavicum and Tusculum on the right, went along by the *Pictæ Tabernæ* till it ended in the Latine way. This is Strabo's account of it, and if we suppose it genuine, it is more probable that Labicum was situated near Colonna than at Zangarolla.

more



more hearty in clearing himself of the blame of the late miscarriage, than in extolling Tempanius with just praises. While the state was afflicted on account of this disaster, and offended with their generals, M. Posthumius, who had been one of the military tribunes with consular power that commanded at Veii, was by an impeachment brought before the people, and fined in ten thousand asses of brass. T. Quinctius in his defence laid all the blame of that unfortunate expedition upon Posthumius his colleague already condemned, and was acquitted by the suffrages of all the tribes on account of the good services he had done, when consul, in the country of the Volsci, under the conduct of the dictator Posthumius Tubertus, and at Fidenæ when he was lieutenant general to Mamercus Æmilius another dictator. It is said the memory of his venerable father Cincinnatus was of great use to him on this occasion, as was also the intercession of Capitolinus Quinctius, now quite spent with age, who in the most humble manner entreated, that as his life was so near a period, they would not suffer him to carry so distressing news to Cincinnatus.



THE people chose for their tribunes Sextus Tempanius, A. Sellius, L. Antistius and Sextus Pompilius, though absent. The three last were the persons whom the horse, by the advice of Tempanius, chose for their centurions. Because out of odium to Sempronius the name of consul was at this time offensive, the senate ordered military tribunes with consular power to be elected, and the choice fell upon L. Manlius Capitolinus, Q. Antonius Merenda and L. Papirius Mugillanus. In the beginning of the year L. Hortensius, one of the tribunes of the people, brought an impeachment against Sempronius the late consul; and when four of his colleagues, in the presence of the Roman people, earnestly entreated him not to distress their innocent general, in whom nothing could be found blame-worthy but his bad fortune,

L. Manlius
Capitolinus,
Q. Antonius
Merenda and
L. Papirius
Mugillanus
military
tribunes.
Y. of R. 333.
B. J. C. 419.

CHAP.

XLII.

fortune, Hortensius could not easily bear it, believing it was only design'd to try his resolution and steadiness, and that the party accused had no dependance upon the mediation of the tribunes, which was only intended for a shew, but on their assistance. Therefore turning toward Sempronius, he asked, "where was that haughtiness peculiar to the patricians, and that courage which is supported by innocence and confides in it alone, when a man of consular dignity takes shelter under the shadow of plebeian tribunes?" and afterwards toward his colleagues, said, "and what will you do if I should prosecute my impeachment and convict him? Will ye wrest the privilege out of the hands of the people and ruin the power of the tribunes?" They replied, that they acknowledged the supreme power of the people over Sempronius and every other member of the state; and as they were not able, so neither had they the least inclination to encroach upon their right of judging; but if their earnest entreaties in favor of a general, who had treated them with the tenderness of a parent, were ineffectual, they would exchange habits with him. Upon this Hortensius said, "the people of Rome shall not see their tribunes in mourning, I have no farther claim against Sempronius, since during his command of the army he has procured the love of the soldiers to such a degree." The affection of the four tribunes to their general, did not give greater pleasure to the senators and people, than the good nature of Hortensius, which disposed him to yield so readily to their reasonable request. Fortune did not long fawn upon the Æqui, who were elevated with this doubtful victory of the Volsci, as if they had gained it themselves.

CHAP.

XLIII.

Num. Fab.
Vibulanus
and T. Q.
Capitolinus

NEXT year when Numerius Fabius Vibulanus, and T. Quinctius Capitolinus, the son of Capitolinus, were consuls, nothing remarkable was atchieved under the conduct of Fabius, who had got the direction

of
consuls. Y. of R. 334. B. J. C. 418.

of that war by lot. For the Æqui had no sooner
brought their cowardly army in fight, than they were
shamefully put to the rout, so that the consul gained
no great honor, and therefore was refused a triumph.
Yet because this victory served in some measure to
remove the reproach attending the loss sustained by
Sempronius, he was allowed to enter the city with
an ovation. As this war was ended with less blood
than was at first apprehended, so in the city, out of
a profound calm, arose an unexpected storm of dis-
sentiment between the senators and people, which first
began about creating a double number of quæstors.
The consuls had made a motion, that besides the two
city quæstors² there should be two others created, to
attend the army, and assist the consuls, when they
should be engaged in war. The fathers highly ap-
proved the motion, but the tribunes of the people
took this opportunity to contend with the consuls,
by making a demand, that some of the quæstors,
who till this time, had all been patricians, should
thenceforward be chosen out of the number of the
people. This was at first violently opposed by the
consuls and patricians, but they afterwards agreed,
that the rule which obtained in the election of mi-

CHAP.

XLIII.

² Quæstors at first were chosen by the consuls according to Tacitus lib. 2. but he adds, "that the first time they were chosen by the people was sixty-three years after the expulsion of the Tarquins, and the design of their election was to attend military affairs; and afterwards, when their business became more extensive, two more were added to attend the affairs of the city," where he seems to mistake not only with respect to chronology, in putting the sixty-third year for the twenty-third, as has been already observed, but also in supposing that the quæstors, who were employed about military affairs, were instituted before those who attended the business of the city; at least our author with much greater probability supposes the two city quæstors first elect-

ed, and that this year two more were added to attend the affairs of the army. For in the nature of things it must be supposed, that there were persons appointed to take care of the treasury in the city, before any officers were instituted to take care of the sums taken out of that treasury for the use of the army, and to lay them out according to the consuls order. It is indeed true, that now and then we find mention made of quæstors in the army, but the city quæstors are mentioned much more frequently; whence it is probable either that the city quæstors served at first in both these capacities, or that to this time the consuls had the privilege of employing any proper persons they pleased, in disposing of the money appointed for the use of the army.

CHAP.
XLIII.

litary tribunes with consular power, should be extended to the quæstors, and the choice should be entirely left to the discretion of the people; and when even this concession did not satisfy their adversaries, they entirely dropt their project about encreasing the number of quæstors. Though the consuls dropt their motion, the tribunes still insisted upon theirs, and soon after brought other seditious claims, and among the rest, that of the Agrarian law upon the carpet. For the more effectual quieting of these commotions, the senate wanted that consuls rather than military tribunes should be chosen; but as they could not get an act passed for that purpose, on account of the opposition of the tribunes, the administration returned from consuls to an interregnum; nor was even this brought about without great struggles, as the tribunes were indefatigable in their endeavours to prevent the meeting of the patricians. The greatest part of next year was also spent in disputes between the new tribunes of the people, and several of those who served successively in the character of interrex, the former sometimes exerting themselves to prevent the meeting of the patricians for electing these magistrates, and sometimes, when one was chosen, opposing his getting an act of senate passed for holding the comitia for electing consuls, till at last L. Papirius Mugillanus, upon his being declared interrex, having severely upbraided both the senators and tribunes of the people, said, “ that
“ the commonwealth, when abandoned and neglect-
“ ed by men, was taken under the particular care
“ and providence of the Gods, and owed it’s prefer-
“ vation to the truce with the Veientes, and the in-
“ activity of the Æqui. But if any new alarm
“ should arise from these nations, they seem’d to
“ chuse that the state should be ruined without a
“ patrician magistrate at the helm of affairs; for
“ there was at present no army, nor a general to
“ raise one. Did they think a civil war with their
“ fellow subjects at home would be sufficient to de-
“ fend

“ fend them against a foreign one with their ene- CHAP.
 “ mies abroad ? So far from it, that, if they should XLIII.
 “ be attacked by both these calamities at once, the
 “ power of all the Gods could scarce preserve the
 “ Roman republic from ruin. Why then should
 “ not both the contending parties, abating some part
 “ of their pretensions, take a middle course to re-
 “ store harmony to the state, and the senators suffer
 “ the administration to be put in the hands of mili-
 “ tary tribunes with consular power, whilst the tri-
 “ bunes of the people, on their part, leave the peo-
 “ ple at full liberty to chuse four quæstors indiffe-
 “ rently out of the number of patricians or plebeians,
 “ as they shall think proper ?”

THE comitia for creating military tribunes with CHAP.
 consular power met first, and L. Quinctius Cincinnatus XLIV.
 for the third time, L. Furius Medullinus for the se-
 cond, M. Manlius and A. Sempronius Atratinus, all
 patricians, were chosen. This last held the comitia
 for electing quæstors, where, among several other ple-
 beians, the son of Antistius, and the brother of Sex-
 tus Pompilius, who were both tribunes of the people,
 stood candidates ; but their interest or number of
 votes were not sufficient to hinder the people from
 preferring, on account of their high birth, those whose
 fathers and grandfathers they had seen vested with
 the consulate. Upon this all the tribunes of the peo-
 ple stormed ; but Pompilius and Antistius were pro-
 voked more than all the rest, upon seeing their
 nearest relations rejected, and said, “ that they were
 “ surprised the people, by their services, the insults
 “ of the patricians, nor a laudable ambition to put
 “ in exercise a new right which they did not enjoy
 “ before, had not been prevailed with to raise one
 “ of their own number, if not to the dignity of a
 “ military tribune, at least to that of a quæstor.
 “ The intercession of a father had not succeeded in
 “ behalf of his son, nor that of one brother in favor
 “ of another, though both were tribunes of the peo-
 “ ple,

Ninth mil.
tribuneship
L. Quinctius
Cincinnatus,
L. Furius
Medullinus,
M. Manlius
and A. Semp.
Atratinus.
Y. of R. 335.
B. J. C. 417.

CHAP.

XLIV.

ple, and vested with that sacred power which was
 instituted for the support of liberty. There must
 certainly be some unfair practices in the case, and
 A. Sempronius had, in presiding at the comitia, dis-
 covered more of artifice than integrity. They had
 therefore reason to complain that by his unjust in-
 trigues their friends had not succeeded in their ap-
 plication for the office of quæstor." But as A-
 tratinus himself was sufficiently secured against their
 attacks, by his own innocence as well as the high
 station in which he served, they turned their resent-
 ment against his cousin C. Sempronius, and by the
 assistance of Canuleius their colleague, impeached
 him for the disgrace he had brought upon the state,
 by his conduct in the late war with the Volsci. Very
 soon after the same tribunes proposed in the senate
 a division of lands among the people; and as C.
 Sempronius had always opposed this motion with
 great warmth, they thought, as it after happened,
 that if he should drop his opposition in that affair, his
 interest among the patricians must fall considerably,
 or if he continued it, he would expose himself to the
 resentment of the people at the time of his trial. He
 chose rather to expose himself to the odium of the
 opposite party, and hurt his own cause, than desert
 the interest of the public; and therefore continued
 fixed in the same opinion, "that a gratuity ought not
 to be granted, which would only serve to encrease
 the interest and power of three factious tribunes,
 who at the bottom did not want to procure lands
 for the people, but to raise their resentment against
 him. As he was convinced of this, he was for
 his own part resolved to stand the storm with un-
 daunted resolution; nor did he think that himself,
 or any particular citizen, ought to be so consider-
 able in the eyes of the senate, that to save him,
 they should expose the state to any considerable
 disadvantage." With the same steadiness and cou-
 rage, when the day of trial came, he pleaded his own
 cause; but after the senators had in vain tried all pos-
 sible

fible means to blunt the edge of the people's resentment, he was condemned to pay a fine of fifteen thousand asses of brass^a. The same year Posthumia, one of the vestal virgins, was obliged to plead her cause in answer to an accusation of incontinence which had been brought against her. Though she was innocent as to the crime, yet she had not sufficiently guarded against reports arising from suspicion, to which she had exposed herself by a greater gaiety of dress, and freedom in conversation, than became a virgin. Therefore her trial was at first put off for want of evidence^b, and afterwards she was acquitted; but the high priest, with the consent and approbation of the whole college, admonished her to avoid mirth and gaiety in her expressions, and to study modesty more than elegance in dress. The same year also Cumæ, a city till that time possessed by the Greeks, was taken by the people of Capua, and the administration for the next was put into the hands of military tribunes with consular power, viz. Agrippa Menenius Lanatus, P. Lucretius Tricipitinus, Sp. Nautius and C. Servilius.

Tenth mil.
tribuneship
Agrippa
Menenius
Lanatus,
P. Lucretius
Tricipiti-
nus, Sp.
Nautius and
C. Servilius.
Y. of R. 336.
B. J. C. 416.

BY the good fortune of the Roman people, this year was more remarkable for an uncommon danger than any considerable disaster. For the slaves entered into a conspiracy to set fire to the city in several places at a distance from one another, and to arm themselves and seize the citadel and capitol, while the people should be employed in saving their houses. But Jupiter disappointed their wicked designs, for two of the conspirators having discovered the plot, the rest were secured and put to death. The informers, as a reward for this service, were set at liberty, and,

^a Forty-eight pounds eight shillings and eight pence. Arbuthnot.

^b When the judges, upon hearing a cause, pronounced that the evidence was not clear, and there was occasion for a farther trial, this verdict was called *ampliatio*, probably from the

words which the prætor pronounced upon such occasion, viz. *amplius cognoscendum est*; and as the character denoting absolution was A, that expressing condemnation C, so the mark of ampliation was NL, i. e. *non liquet*.

CHAP.

XLV.



Eleventh
mil. tribun.
L. Sergius
Fidenas,
M. Papirius
Mugillanus,
and C. Ser-
vilius.
Y. of R. 337.
B. J. C. 415.

which was at that time thought great riches, had ten thousand asses of brass money^a weighed them out of the treasury. After this the Æqui began to make preparations for renewing the war; and accounts were brought to Rome by very sure hands, that the people of Lavicum, who had had no hostilities with the Romans before, were associating themselves with these old enemies of the state. The republic had been for some time accustomed to a war with the Æqui every year, but ambassadors were immediately sent to Lavicum. As they returned with doubtful answers, by which it appeared, that that people had not yet begun to make preparations for war, and yet were not like to be long at peace, the Tusculans were charged to take notice that no new commotions should arise at Lavicum. Soon after the military tribunes with consular power, who were chosen for the next year, viz. L. Sergius Fidenas, M. Papirius Mugillanus, C. Servilius the son of Priscus, who had been dictator when Fidenæ was taken, had entered upon their office, deputies came from Tusculum with accounts, “that the people of Lavicum had taken up arms, joined the troops of the Æqui, and after ravaging the lands of Tusculum, pitched their camp at Algidum.” This news having determined the Romans to declare war against the state of Lavicum, the senate passed an act, that two of the military tribunes should go to war, and the third abide at Rome to command in the city; but this quickly occasioned a sharp dispute between the colleagues, for every one of them pretended that he was the most proper person to command the army, and expressed their contempt of presiding in the city, as a mean and disagreeable office. As the senators beheld with wonder such an indecent misunderstanding between them, Q. Servilius said, “since you shew no regard to this august order of men, nor to the commonwealth, paternal authority^b shall end the
“dis-

^a Thirty-two pounds five shillings and nine pence three farthings. Arb.

^b In the original it is *patria mageslas*, i. e. *paternal majesty*. Nor is that

“ dispute, my son shall, without casting lots, take
 “ upon him the care of the city. I wish those who
 “ are so fond of war, may carry it on with greater
 “ prudence and unanimity than they seem to dis-
 “ cover in desiring it.”

CHAP.
 XLV.

AS it was not thought proper to raise recruits in-
 differently out of all the people, ten tribes were
 drawn by lot, and the two consular tribunes having
 listed the young men belonging to them, led them
 to the war. But the misunderstanding which a thirst
 after sovereign power raised between them in the city,
 broke out with greater fury in the camp: they were
 never of the same opinion, and each, bigotted to his
 own sentiments, would have his advice followed in
 all cases, and no orders but his own obey'd. In short
 they acted in direct contempt of one another, till
 upon a remonstrance from their lieutenant generals,
 matters were so ordered, that they should have the
 supreme command by turns, and neither should en-
 joy it above one day at a time. When these accounts
 were brought to Rome, it is reported that Q. Servi-
 lius, who by age and experience had acquired supe-
 rior knowledge in such affairs, first implored the im-
 mortal Gods, “ that the misunderstanding between
 “ the tribunes might not prove more fatal to the
 “ state, than it had been at Veii;” and afterwards,
 as if he had been fully convinced that some calamity
 was at hand, pressed his son “ to raise troops and
 “ make preparations for war.” In this he appeared
 to have been a true prophet; for one day, when Ser-
 gius had the chief command, the Æqui pretending
 fear retreated to their intrenchments, and the Ro-
 mans, without considering the disadvantage of the
 ground where they were to fight, as it lay directly

CHAP.
 XLVI.

that expression too strong to express
 the extent of paternal authority among
 the Romans, who not only had the
 power of life and death over their
 children; but in disputes among the
 supreme magistrates, paternal autho-

rity, as something superior to any ci-
 vil jurisdiction, was sometimes exerted
 to determine the controversy, as ap-
 pears from the instance given in this
 place.

CHAP.

XLVI.



Q. Servilius
Priscus
dictator, and
C. Servilius
general of
the horse,

under the enemy's lines, marched up to them in hopes of making themselves masters of their camp. Upon this the Æqui, all of a sudden, sallied out upon them, drove them backwards down the hill into the valley, and many were trod to death and slain in that rout, which looked more like a fall from a precipice than a flight. It was with difficulty the Romans could defend their camp that day, but the next, when they found themselves almost surrounded by their enemies, they made their escape out at the back gate and shamefully deserted it. The generals, lieutenant generals, and all that kept by the standards, went to Tusculum, whilst the rest straggling through the fields, by many different roads, at last reached Rome, and in their accounts magnified the loss the army had sustained. The consternation there was the less, both because this event was agreeable to what their fears had suggested, and because young Servilius, the military tribune, had got together a body of reserve, to which they could have recourse in time of danger: the inferior magistrates having also by his order quieted the commotions in the city, the spies, who were sent out, quickly returned with accounts "that the generals and army were at Tusculum, and the enemies had not moved their camp out of it's former place." But what gave greatest encouragement to the citizens, was, that the senate had formed a resolution to create Quinctius Servilius Priscus dictator, a man whose foresight for the interest of the republic they had experienced on many former occasions, but especially in the event of this war, he being the only person, who, before the late miscarriage, had suspected some bad consequence from the misunderstanding between the military tribunes. Some authors have asserted, that he chose his son general of the horse, who being at that time a military tribune, had named him dictator; others pretend that Servilius Ahala served in that station this year: but be this as it will, he marched with his new raised army, and having sent for those who were

were at Tusculum, incamped within two miles of the enemy.

THE late success of the Æqui had brought over to their side that pride and negligence which had formerly infested the Roman generals. Therefore the dictator, having by his horse, whom he sent to begin the charge, put the first line of the enemy's army into disorder, he commanded the legions to advance and support them with all possible speed, and slew with his own hand one of the standard bearers, whom he observed slackening his pace. The Romans upon this fought with such ardor and fury, that the Æqui could not stand their charge, but quitting the field, fled in the greatest disorder to their camp, though it required less time and trouble to force it than it had done to defeat them in battle. As soon as it was taken and rifled, the dictator gave the plunder to the troops ; and the horse who had pursued the enemy when they fled out of their camp, having brought advice that the routed inhabitants of Lavicum, and a great part of the Æqui, had fled to that city, he led his army thither next day, and having invested the place, took it by assault and plundered it. Then he led his victorious army to Rome, and gave up his office eight days after he had been invested with it. And before the tribunes of the people had time to propose the division of the Lavican lands, and thereby revive the disputes about the Agrarian law, a full meeting of the senate very seasonably voted, " that a colony should be planted at " Lavicum." In consequence of this resolution six thousand five hundred citizens were sent out of the city, and each of them were assigned two ^a acres of land. Next year after the taking of Lavicum, the military tribunes with consular power were Agrippa Menenius Lanatus, L. Servilius Structus and P. Lucretius Tri-

CHAP.
XLVII.

Twelfth
mil. tribun.
Agrip. Men.
Lanatus, L.
S. Structus,
P. Luc. Tri-
cipitinus and
Sp. Rutilius
Crassus.
Y. of R. 338.
B. J. C. 414.

^a The *jugerum* among the Romans which we have translated acre, was a space of ground two hundred forty

feet in length and one hundred and twenty in breadth.

cipitinus

CHAP.

XLVII.

Thirteenth
mil. tribun.A. Sempro-
nius Atrati-
nus, M. Pa-
pirius Mu-
gillanus and
Sp. Nautius
Rutilus.

Y. of R. 339.

B. J. C. 413.

CHAP.


XLVIII.


cipitinus all for the second time, and Sp. Rutilius Crassus, who the year following were succeeded in the same dignity by A. Sempronius Atratinus for the third time, and M. Papirius Mugillanus with Sp. Nautius Rutilus for the second. During these two years the Romans had no foreign enemy to contend with, but were harassed at home by disputes about the Agrarian laws.

THE persons who at this time disturbed the peace of the people were two of their tribunes, viz. Sp. Mæcilius and Metilius, who had been both chosen in their absence, the former for the fourth and the latter for the third time. They had preferred a bill “ for an equal partition of the conquered lands among “ all the citizens :” but as the city had been built upon the lands of strangers, with little or no territory that it had not conquered sword in hand, and no part of it had been sold, or distributed by public authority, but what was in possession of the people; according to this bill, the greatest part of the estates of the nobility must have been confiscated, and therefore it seemed to throw a great bone of contention between the patricians and plebeians. Nor could the consular tribunes, by often calling the senate together, and procuring private meetings of the principal men of the patrician party, find a method to extricate themselves out of this difficulty ; till, as it is reported, Appius Claudius, the grandson of that Appius who was created decemvir for compiling a body of laws, and at this time the youngest of all the senators, represented, “ That he would lay before them “ an old expedient which he had by tradition from “ one of his own family, for Appius Claudius his great “ grandfather had demonstrated to the senate, that “ the only way to render the power of the tribunes “ ineffectual was to stir up an opposition among “ their own colleagues. The authority of great men “ would easily prevail with persons newly raised “ from obscurity to alter their conduct, if the sena-
“ tors

“tors would sometimes deign to address them in
 “terms more suited to the necessity of the times than
 “the dignity of their own rank. The pride of such
 “persons was always proportioned to their condition,
 “and therefore as soon as they should be convinced
 “that those of their colleagues, who were the prin-
 “cipal actors in promoting the present bill, had en-
 “grossed all the people’s favor, so as to leave no
 “room for them in their esteem, they would easily
 “be prevailed upon to favor the pretensions of the
 “senate, and thereby recommend themselves to the
 “whole order as well as the principal men of it.”

As all approved of the expedient, especially Q. Ser-
 vilus, who also commended the young man, because
 he had not degenerated from the steadiness of the
 Claudian family, a general charge was given to all
 the members of the senate, that every one of them
 should employ their interest to prevail with as many
 of the college of tribunes as they could to join in
 opposition to the bill. In consequence of this, as
 soon as the senate was adjourned, the principal mem-
 bers of it made their court to the tribunes, whom
 they ply’d with all the methods of persuasion, and
 in particular assured, that their compliance would lay
 a strong obligation, not only upon every private se-
 nator, but upon the whole order in general; nor
 did they desist till they had engaged six of them to
 oppose the designs of their colleagues. Next day,
 according to concert, a motion was made in the
 house “concerning the sedition, which Mæcilius and
 “Metilius were exciting by proposing a largess to the
 “people that was like to be of the most dangerous
 “consequence to the state;” and every one of the se-
 nators in their speeches took care to declare, “that,
 “for their own part, they were so much at a loss that
 “they had no advice to offer, nor the least prospect
 “of assistance from any quarter, except it should come
 “from the opposition of the tribunes. The republic
 “under heavy oppression, and in the condition of a
 “private person reduced to necessity and want, now
 “fled

CHAP. XLVIII.  fled to the mercy and protection of that college ; and
 “ it would tend much to their own honor, as well as
 “ to the reputation of their office, if it should appear,
 “ that the power lodged in their hands was not more
 “ effectual for distressing the senate and sowing discord
 “ among the different orders in the state, than to op-
 “ pose the designs of their wicked colleagues.” Upon
 this a great noise arose in the house, occasioned by
 the members, who from all parts of it appealed to
 the tribunes. And as soon as silence was command-
 ed, those who had been beforehand prepared by the
 solicitation of the principal senators, declared, “ that
 “ they would oppose the bill which their colleagues had
 “ preferred, seeing it was the judgment of the senate
 “ that it tended to the subversion of the state.” The
 senate returned thanks to the tribunes who had made
 the opposition ; but those who had preferred the bill,
 summoned an assembly, where after reviling their
 colleagues with the odious names of betrayers of the
 interests of the people, slaves to all who had been
 honored with the office of consul, and other oppro-
 brious language, they laid aside their motion.

CHAP. XLIX.  THE next year P. Cornelius Cossus, C. Valerius
 Potitus, Quinctius Cincinnatus and Numerius Fabius
 Vibulanus were created military tribunes with con-
 sular power. During their administration the state
 would have had war with two of it's restless neigh-
 bours, had not that with the Veientes been put off
 by a religious scruple among their leaders to whose
 lands the Tiber, overflowing it's banks, had lately
 done great damage, especially by demolishing their
 country seats and farm houses, and the Æqui beer
 diverted from assisting the inhabitants of Volæ*, ;
 people belonging to their own nation, by the great
 loss they had sustained three years before. This peo-
 ple had made incursions upon the territory of Lavi-
 cum, which bordered with theirs, and committed

Fourteenth
 mil. tribun.
 P. Corn.
 Cossus, C.
 Valer. Poli-
 tus, Quinct.
 Cincinnatus
 and Num.
 Fab. Vibu-
 lanus.

Y. of R. 340.
 B. J. C. 412.

* A city of the Æqui bordering about sixteen miles from Rome, it
 upon the country of the Latines, modern name is *Poli*.

hostilities upon the Roman colony lately planted there. CHAP. XLIX.
 And they thought to have secured themselves against any punishment for this insult by the joint assistance of all the Æqui; but as they were thus deserted by their countrymen, the war the Romans had with them was very inconsiderable, for they lost both their city and it's territory by one slight engagement and a short siege. L. Sextius, one of the popular tribunes, attempted to bring in a bill for sending a colony to Volæ as well as Lavicum; but this came to no account by reason of the opposition made by his colleagues, who declared, “that they would suffer no bill to pass in the assembly of the commons without the consent of the senate.” Next year, the Æqui having recovered Volæ, reinforced the town by a colony of their own people which they planted there: this happened when Quinctius Fabius Vibulanus for the second time, Cn. Cornelius Cossus, L. Valerius Potitus and Posthumius Regillensis^b were military tribunes with consular power. This Posthumius Regillensis had the command of the army in the war against the Æqui; but he was a man of an obstinate perverse temper, which he discovered by his victory more than by his conduct in the war. For having raised an army with great expedition and led it to Volæ, he damped the courage of the Æqui in several slight engagements, and at last took their city by force. After that he turned his severity from the enemies and pointed it against his fellow citizens: and though while he was besieging the town, he ordered it to be proclaimed that the troops should have the plunder of it, when it was once taken, he changed his mind. I am more inclined to believe that this was the rise of his army's resentment against him, than that they were provoked, because the city

Fifteenth
 mil. tribun.
 Q. Fab. Vi-
 bulanus, Cn.
 Cor. Cossus,
 L. Val. Poti-
 tus, and
 Posth. Re-
 gillensis.
 Y. of R. 341.
 B. J. C. 411.

^b This name was common to two Roman families, viz. those of the *Claudii* and the *Posthumii*, and given them upon very different accounts. The *Claudii* had it from Regillum a town in the country of the Sabines, whence they had their original; but the *Posthumii* from the famous victory which the Romans gained over the Latines at the lake of Regillus, under the conduct of Posthumius the dictator.

having

CHAP.

XLIX.

having been but lately plundered, and repeopled by a new colony, they found not such a large booty in it as this military tribune had given them ground to expect. But this resentment against him, he further enflamed after he was recalled by his colleagues and returned to the city, on account of the commotions which the tribunes of the people were raising there, by a foolish and almost distracted expression which he dropt upon that occasion. For when Sextius, one of these tribunes, was proposing the Agrarian law, adding, “ that he would also bring in a bill
 “ for sending a colony to Volæ, because that city
 “ and it’s territory was in justice the property of those
 “ who had conquered it by their arms,” Posthumius said, “ wo be to my soldiers, if they will not
 “ be quiet.” This expression did not shock the assembly when they heard it pronounced, more than it afterwards did the senators. The tribune Sextius, who was a man that had abundance of spirit, and by no means a bad speaker, having found among his adversaries a proud heart and a petulant tongue, whom by provocation and teizing he could drive to such expressions as were capable not only of rendering himself odious, but also of creating a prejudice against his cause and the whole order to which he belonged, used to draw none of the military tribunes oftener into a dispute than Posthumius. Therefore immediately after he had heard this cruel and inhuman expression, he said, “ don’t you hear him, Ro-
 “ mans, how he threatens an ill turn to his soldiers,
 “ as if they were his slaves? And yet after all you
 “ will think this brute more worthy of the high and
 “ honorable office he enjoys, than those who pro-
 “ vide you with cities and lands and send you into
 “ colonies, who procure safe retreats for your old
 “ age, and fight for your interests against such cruel
 “ and haughty adversaries. After this begin to won-
 “ der why there are now so few that care to under-
 “ take the defence of your rights, what have they
 “ to expect from you? Is it these honors you con-
 “ fer

“fer upon your adversaries rather than the protectors
 “of the Roman people? You gave a groan just now
 “upon hearing the expression Posthumius used, but
 “what does that signify, were you this moment to
 “give your suffrages, you would prefer the person
 “who thus menaces you, to those who exert them-
 “selves to secure you in lands, settlements and
 “riches?”

WHEN this expression of Posthumius was re- CHAP.
 ported in the camp, it raised the indignation of the L.
 soldiers to a higher pitch than it had done that of
 the people at Rome. “What! said they, must the
 “person who has defrauded the troops, and taken
 “to himself the booty which of right belonged to
 “them, also menace them?” P. Sestius, one of the
 quæstors, observing that they openly murmured a-
 gainst their general, and imagining that the sedition
 could be restrained by the same violent methods
 that had given rise to it, sent his lictor to one of
 the soldiers whom he heard bawling out; but their
 noise and reproaches rising higher, he was wounded
 with a stone and obliged to retire out of the tumult,
 the person who had wounded him also calling to him
 in an insulting manner, “that the quæstor had got
 “that wherewith the general had threatened his sol-
 “diers.” When Posthumius himself was called to
 quell the mutiny, he made the matter much worse,
 by his severe inquiries and cruel punishments. At
 last, when he set no bounds to his resentment, the
 cries of those whom he had ordered to be put to
 death under the hurdle^a having drawn together a
 number of the soldiers, in a tumultuous manner, he
 came down to them himself from the tribunal like
 a person distracted, as they were endeavouring to
 prevent the execution of his sentence. And as the
 lictors and centurions in clearing the way and dis-
 persing the mob upon that occasion, maltreated the

^a This kind of punishment is described more minutely vol. i. cap. 31. in the instance of Turnus Herdonius.

CHAP. men, the indignation of the soldiers rose to such a height that the military tribune was stoned to death by his own army. When the accounts of a deed so shocking were brought to Rome, and the military tribunes applied to the senate for an order to make a severe enquiry into the death of their colleague, the tribunes of the people opposed their passing any act upon this subject. But this dispute depended upon another. For the senators were apprehensive, that the people, for fear of the intended inquisition, would chose military tribunes out of their own number, therefore they exerted themselves to the utmost to get consuls elected. But as the tribunes of the people opposed the senate's passing any act about enquiring into the death of Posthumius, they also endeavoured to prevent the holding of the comitia for electing consuls, so that at last they were obliged to have recourse to an interregnum, by means whereof the fathers soon after had the victory.

CHAP. Q. Fabius Vibulanus being declared interrex, held the comitia, and M. Cornelius Cossus with L. Furius Medullinus were created consuls. In the very beginning of their administration the senate enacted, “ that the tribunes should, as soon as possible, lay “ the affair of the inquiry into the murder of Posthumius before the assembly of the people, and “ that it should be left to them to name what com- “ missaries they pleased to preside in that inquiry.” Upon this the commons, with the general approbation of the Roman people, committed the charge of this matter to the two consuls. They executed their commission with the greatest moderation, and brought the whole affair to a period by passing the sentence of death upon a few, who are generally believed to have prevented it, by killing themselves : yet they could not by all this prevent the people's highly resenting their conduct, and complaining, “ That the bills which were brought in “ for their advantage should lie so long neglected, “ and

LI.

M. Corn.
Cossus, and
L. Furius
Medullinus
consuls.
Y. of R. 342.
B J. C. 410.

“ and without effect, while a law made for shedding
 “ their blood and bringing them to punishment was
 “ directly put in execution, and that with great ri-
 “ gor.” After thus punishing the seditious soldiers,
 it was a most proper time for soothing the minds of
 the people, by dividing among them the lands of
 Volæ. By this means the senators would have con-
 siderably abated their keenness in pushing the Agra-
 rian law, by which they intended to divest the patri-
 cians of the lands belonging to the state they unjustly
 possessed. But as matters went, the people were
 galled with this provoking circumstance, that the
 fathers were not only obstinate in retaining the lands
 of the public, which they had usurped by violent
 methods, but also refused to distribute among them
 the territory of Volæ lately taken from the enemy,
 which was now vacant, and would soon become a
 prey to a few of the patricians, as the rest had done
 before. The same year Furius the consul led the
 legions against the Volsci who were ravaging the do-
 minions of the Hernici; but not finding the ene-
 my there, they took Ferentinum^a, to which a great
 number of them had retired. The booty they got
 was not so considerable as they expected, because
 the Volsci, after they began to lose hopes of being
 able to defend themselves, packed up their effects in
 the night time, and evacuated the city; so that next
 day when it was taken, the consul finding it almost
 quite abandoned, made a present of it's territory to
 the Hernici.

CHAP.
LI.

THIS year, by reason of the moderation of the
 plebeian tribunes, had been pretty peaceable; but in

CHAP.
LII.

^a This is not the same with the
 Caput Ferentinum, situated near mount
 Alba, where the Latines held their
 assemblies, nor with Ferentinum, a
 city of Hetruria, whose ruins yet re-
 main near Viterbo, under the name
 of *Forenti*, nor with Ferentum, or
 rather Forentum, in Apulia near A-
 cherontia, now called Forenza, but
 a town which belonged originally to

the Volsci, afterwards it was taken
 from them by the consul Furius given
 to the Hernici, and some time in the
 possession of the Samnites. It yet
 retains much of it's ancient name,
 being now called Fiorentino, and is
 situated in Campagna di Roma, almost
 in the center between Anagnia Fru-
 seno Signia and Verulæ, about forty-
 eight miles from Rome.

CHAP.

LII.



Q. Fab. Ambustus and

C. Fur. Pacilus consuls.

Y. of R. 343.

B. J. C. 409.

the beginning of the next, when the administration was in the hands of Q. Fabius Ambustus and C. Furius Pacilus consuls, L. Icilius, one of the tribunes of the people, as if that had been the peculiar province of his name and family, endeavoured to promote sedition, by proposing Agrarian laws: however a pestilence, which happened at the same time, diverted the thoughts of men from the forum and disputes about public affairs, and made them fix their attention to the concerns of their own families, and the proper care of their health. Yet the dread of it was more considerable than the hurt it did, at least it is thought it was of less prejudice to the state than the sedition it prevented would have been. After much sickness in the city, but a very inconsiderable mortality, the neglect of husbandry during this year wherein the pestilence prevailed, was followed, as it commonly happens, by a scarcity of provisions in the next, when M. Papirius Atratinus and C. Nautius Rutilus were consuls. And famine would have produced worse consequences than the pestilence, if their want had not been relieved by sending deputies to all the nations who inhabited the coast of the Hetrurian sea and the banks of the Tiber to buy up corn. The Samnities, who were then possessed of Capua and Cumæ, in a very haughty manner prohibited all commerce with those deputies, but they were liberally supplied by the tyrants of Sicily: and the Hetrurians with the greatest zeal and forwardness sent large quantities of grain down the Tiber^a to Rome. The consuls had a convincing proof of the desolate state to which the city was reduced while the sickness prevail'd, for not finding above one senator for every

M. Papirius

Atratinus

and C. Naut.

Rutilus

consuls.

Y. of R. 344.

B. J. C. 408.

^a Nothing can be plainer that the original expression “maximos com-
“meatus summo Hetruriæ studio
“Tiberis devexit,” can bear no other sense than what we have given it. It is also beyond all controversy that Hetruria lay farther up the Tiber than Rome, and consequently what came from that country to Rome

by the Tiber, must come down not up that River. So that it is surprising what could lead Mr. Guerin, in his late translation of this passage, to say that the Hetrurians sent provisions up the Tiber to Rome, in direct contradiction to his author, as well as the nature of things.

particular embassy, they were obliged to associate with each of them two knights^b. However during these two years the Romans were exposed to no foreign nor domestic trouble, excepting what they suffered by the contagious distemper and scarcity of provisions. But these calamities were no sooner over than they were involved in civil dissensions and foreign war, and all the evils which used to disquiet and distress their state.

CHAP
LII.

THE next consuls were Mamercus Æmilius and C. Valerius Potitus, during whose administration the Æqui made preparations for war; and though the Volsci did not take up arms by any direct order of their own state, yet they lifted themselves with the former as mercenary troops. Upon advice of the motions of these enemies, for by this time they had entered the frontiers of the Latines and Hernici, Valerius the consul began to make the levies for raising an army; but M. Mœnius, one of the tribunes of the people, who had proposed the Agrarian law, opposed him, and while the commons were supported by the assistance of this tribune, none of them could be compelled to take the military oath. In this situation of affairs accounts were brought, “that the enemies had taken the fortrefs of Carventum;” and as this disgrace exposed Mœnius to the odium of the senators, so it furnished a more plausible pretext to the other tribunes who were already determined to declare against the Agrarian law, to oppose their colleague also in this attempt. Therefore after the affair was spun out to a great length by cavilling on both sides, the consuls called Gods and men to witness, “that the blame of all the damage and disgrace the Romans had sustain’d from their enemies, or were like to sustain, must be laid upon Mœnius who obstructed the levies.” And

CHAP,
LIII.

Mamercus
Æmilius
and C. Vale-
rius Potitus
consuls.
Y.of R. 345.
B.J.C. 407.

^b According to the ancient customs of the Romans none but senators were sent ambassadors to foreign states. On this occasion necessity obliged them to dispense with that custom, and in after-times it was not much regarded.

CHAP.

LIII.



while Mœnius on the other hand was bawling out with great vehemence, “ that if the unjust possessors would give up the lands of the public which they had usurped, he would obstruct them no longer,” the other nine tribunes put an end to the dispute, by interposing their decree, whereby they declared in the name of their college, “ that, in opposition to their colleague Mœnius, they would support the consul Valerius in imposing fines, or any other punishments, upon those who refused to let themselves be inrolled for the war.” The consul, supported by this decree, having seized and committed to prison some who appealed to the tribune for assistance, the rest were afraid and took the military oath. This army, however much it hated the consul, and was hated by him, was no sooner led to the fortress of Carventum^a, than it vigorously dispossessed the garison and recovered the fort. The negligence of those of the garison, who had gone to plunder in the neighbourhood, gave the Romans a favorable opportunity to take it by surprise. And the booty found in it was considerable, because the enemy had brought thither, as to a place of great security, all that they got in their daily sallies to pillage the country ; but the consul ordered the quæstors to sell it by auction and put the price in the public treasury, telling the soldiers that they should share in the booty, when they did not decline going to the war. This increased the people’s resentment against him ; and therefore, when by order of the senate, he entered the city with an ovation, the soldiers, in their licentious manner, repeated by turns unpolished and rude verses, wherein they reproached the consul and extolled the name of Mœnius with uncommon praises. And the people who stood on each side to behold the procession, rivaled the soldiers in expressing their

^a This fortress seems to have been not far from Rome, seeing the loss of it is considered as a great disgrace. Sigonius in a note of his on the fifty-fifth chap. of this book, thinks it lay

in the country of the *Æqui* ; but Stephanus says there was a town of this name in the dominions of the Latines.

regard to Mœnius by loud acclamations and applauses, as oft as they heard his name. This gave greater uneasiness to the senators, than the freedom the soldiers took with the consul, because it was ordinary on such occasions; and concluding from this that Mœnius would certainly be advanced to the honor of a military tribune if he should put up for it, they took care to exclude him by appointing the comitia to be held for electing consuls.

CHAP
LIII.

THE consuls elected were Cn. Cornelius Cossus and L. Furius Medullinus for the second time. The people were never more provoked than at this time that they were not allowed to chuse military tribunes, and their uneasiness upon this account they both discovered and resented at the comitia for electing quæstors; for as this was the first time they elected plebeian quæstors, so of four, they chose only one patrician, named Cæso Fabius Ambustus, and three plebeians, Q. Silius, P. Ælius and P. Pupius, were preferred to the sons of the most renowned families in Rome. I am informed that the persons who persuaded the people to give their suffrages with such freedom, were three of the Icilian family, noted for it's extreme inveteracy against the patricians, who were all chosen tribunes of the people that year. For having raised the expectations of the commons by promising a world of great matters, of which they were extremely fond, they at the same time declared, “ They would undertake nothing in
“ their favor, if at the comitia for electing quæstors,
“ the only officers whom the senate had left them
“ at liberty to chuse indifferently out of the body
“ of patricians or plebeians, they had not courage
“ enough to effect what they had so long inclined,
“ and the laws left them at freedom to do.” This the people considered as a very great victory, for they judged of the quæstorship not from the privileges of that office, considered in itself, but from the way which it seemed to pave for men of obscure birth

CHAP
LIV.

Cn. Corn.
Cossus and
L. Fur. Me-
dullinus
consuls.
Y.of R. 346.
B.J.C. 406.

CHAP.
LIV.

to arrive at the highest dignity of the state, and the honor of a triumph. But the fathers, on the other hand, murmured extremely at what had happened, for they did not look upon it, as a mere sharing of the honors of the state with the commons, but as equivalent to the entire loss of them. They said, “That if matters went at this rate they ought not to educate children to be degraded from the dignity of their ancestors, see others possessed of the honors due to them, and be left in the obscure offices of *salii* and priests, with no other employment but that of offering sacrifice for the prosperity of the people, and without the least share in the government or authority in the state.” While the minds of both parties were in this ferment, the people being in high spirits, and having three persons at their head who were so very remarkable for their courage and success in supporting their cause, the fathers seeing that wherever the people were left at liberty to chuse officers indifferently out of the two orders in the state, matters were like to go as they had done at the election of *quæstors*, exerted their utmost efforts to get the *comitia* held for electing consuls, where the plebeians had not yet access to be chosen: but the *Icili*, on the other hand, insisted on having military tribunes elected, and pretended that it was more than time to confer that honor at last upon some of the plebeians.

CHAP.
LV.

BUT as yet the consuls had entered no claim, by a vigorous opposition to which it was in the power of the people to wrest out of their hands what they wanted, when, by a surprizing good chance for them, advice was brought that the *Volsci* and *Æqui* had marched out of their own dominions to pillage the lands of the *Latines* and *Hernici*: and as the consuls by order of the senate began to make the levies for sustaining that war, the tribunes opposed them with all their might, saying, that fortune had presented them and the people with that favorable opportunity. There

There were three of them all men of very great spirit, and descended of one of the best families among the plebeians. Two of them undertook to watch the motions of the two consuls, and be continual spies upon their actions, the third was charged with the care of haranguing the people at assemblies, and of restraining or inciting them as occasion should require. By this means the consuls could not complete their levies, nor could the tribunes obtain the comitia which they wanted. At last fortune inclining to the side of the people, expresses came with accounts “ That the soldiers who kept garison in the
“ fortress of Carventum having gone out a pillaging,
“ the Æqui had killed the few that were left to
“ keep it, and surprised the fort. The rest of the
“ soldiers they had also slain either as they returned
“ and were entring the fort again, or were found
“ straggling in the fields.” This accident, however prejudicial to the state in general, strengthened the tribunes in carrying on their present designs; for after they had been solicited, though in vain, to give up their pretensions at last, and continue no longer to obstruct the war, as they would not yield either out of regard to the storm which threatned the state, nor the odium which they were bringing upon themselves, the senate was obliged to pass an act “ for
“ the election of military tribunes, but upon these
“ express conditions, that none of those who serv-
“ ed as tribunes of the people this year should be
“ elected military tribunes, or continued in their
“ present office for another year.” In these restrictions the senate no doubt had a view to the Iciliï whom they accused of aspiring to an office equal in dignity to the consulate, as a reward of the seditions they had excited in the quality of plebeian tribunes. Immediately after this the levies were made, and preparations for war carried on by the general consent of all ranks. The disagreement of historians leaves it doubtful whether both the consuls marched to the fortress of Carventum, or one of them staid

CHAP. at Rome to hold the comitia : but it is agreed on all
LV. hands, that after they had spent a long time before
 that fort, they at last raised the siege, also that the
 same army reduced Verrugo in the country of the
 Volsci ; and after ravaging the lands of that people,
 as well as those of the Æqui, brought home a very
 considerable booty.

CHAP. AS the victory which the people gained at Rome
LVI. consisted in their obtaining the comitia they desired,
 so in the event of these comitia the fathers had the
 advantage ; for, contrary to every one's expectation,
 the three military tribunes with consular power chosen
 that year were C. Julius Iulus, P. Cornelius Cossus
 and C. Servilius Ahala, all patricians. It is said the
 patricians used a fly artifice upon that occasion, which
 the Icilii reproached them with at that very time ;
 and that having blended a great number of worthless
 candidates ^a, with others who were men of great me-
 rit, the meanness and obscurity of some of the ple-
 beians who put up at that time was so great, that it de-
 termined the people against them all. It is not certain
 whether the hopes of the Volsci and Æqui were raised
 to a great pitch by their success in defending the
 fortrefs of Carventum against the Roman army, or
 their rage enflamed for the loss of their garison at
 Verrugo, but advice was brought that these nations
 made extraordinary preparations for war, and that
 the Antiates were the chief in the confederacy ; it
 was added, that they had sent ambassadors round all

Sixteenth
 mil. tribun.
 C. Julius
 Iulus, P.
 Cor. Craffus
 and C. Servi-
 lius Ahala.
 Y. of R. 347.
 B. J. C. 405.

^a Though all the Romans had a right if they thought proper to stand for employments in the state, and solicit the people in white gowns ; yet that honors might not be conferred upon persons unworthy of them, or not duly qualified according to law, all candidates were obliged to give in their names, some time before the day of election, to the magistrate who was to hold the comitia, that their pretensions might be examined by the magistrates and the senate, and ac-

cording to their decision some were sustained and others rejected ; so that if any candidate was excluded by any sentence of theirs, no regard could be had to him in the election, and the people, were they ever so willing, could not confer the office upon him. Whence it is easy to conceive how much it was in the power of the patricians to admit plebeian candidates of the greatest obscurity and meanness, and reject others of greater figure and worth.

the states of these two nations to upbraid them with their cowardice, “ in that they had shut themselves up within their walls, and suffered the Romans last year to lay waste their lands, and cut in pieces the garison of Verrugo. Not only were armies now sent against them, but colonies also planted in their dominions ; and the Romans not satisfied with dividing their substance among their own people, had taken Ferentinum from them and made a present of it to the Hernici.” As the rage of the people was enflamed by these remonstrances, they listed great numbers of the youth of all the cities which they were sent to solicit ; and having convened them all at Antium, pitched their camp there and waited an opportunity to give the enemy battle. Because the accounts of these motions which were brought to Rome represented them more terrible than they really were, the senate immediately ordered a dictator to be named, as that was the last resource in times of extraordinary danger. But it is said that Julius and Cornelius, two of the military tribunes, highly resented this resolution ; and the disputes they had with the senate upon this occasion were managed with such heat, that the leading men of that order having first complained in vain, “ that the military tribunes would not submit themselves to the authority of the senate, at last had recourse to the tribunes of the people for assistance, alledging that even consuls on such occasions had been over-ruled and obliged to submit to their authority.” The tribunes, delighted with this misunderstanding among the patricians, answered, “ that they ought to expect no assistance from them, while they did not consider them as citizens, or even regard them as men. If ever they should be allowed to share the honors of the state, or admitted to the management of public affairs, they would take care that the haughtiness of any magistrate, however exalted, should not be able to prevent the effects of the senate’s decree. But in the mean time let the patricians

“ them-

“ themselves, who seemed exempted from all re-
 “ gard to laws and obedience to magistrates, take
 “ into their own hands the exercise of the power
 “ and authority of tribunes.”

CHAP.
 LVII.

THIS difference, as it happened in a very improper time, when the state had so much war upon it's hands, engaged the attention of all men, till after Julius and Cornelius had for a long time made speeches by turns, wherein they represented, “ that as they were well qualified for conducting that
 “ war themselves, it was not reasonable that an ho-
 “ nor which the people had bestowed upon them
 “ should be wrested out of their hands.” Servilius Ahala, their colleague in the military tribunate, said, “ that he had been so long silent, not because he
 “ was at a loss what judgment to form in the present
 “ case ; for who, that was a good citizen, would
 “ separate his own interest from that of the state,
 “ but because he rather chose that his colleagues
 “ should of their own accord submit to the autho-
 “ rity of the senate, than have the power of the
 “ plebeian tribunes called in against them. And
 “ even then, if the situation of affairs would suffer
 “ it, he would willingly allow them time to get the
 “ better of a resolution in which they had discover-
 “ ed too much obstinacy. But as the exigencies of
 “ war did not wait the pleasure of men, he would
 “ prefer the interest of the republic to their favor ;
 “ and therefore, if the senate persisted in their for-
 “ mer sentiments, he would name a dictator next
 “ night. Nor would he be diverted from his pur-
 “ pose, if any person should oppose their passing an
 “ act upon this subject, for in that event he would
 “ be satisfied with their authority ^a without the ordi-
 “ nary

^a An act of senate regularly pass'd, which was called *senatus consultum*, was very different from the judgment of the senate, called *authoritas senatus*, or the authority of the senate. A *senatus consultum* required the consent of the senate duly called together, and without opposition from any that had interest. But if the summons by which the senate were convoked want-
 ed

“ nary forms.” Having by this declaration gained the just praises and grateful acknowledgments of all the people, he named P. Cornelius dictator, and was himself declared by him general of the horse; so that such as compared his conduct with that of his colleagues, had in this a convincing proof that those who neglect respect and honor, are sometimes in the surest way to both. The war was not very considerable, for the enemies were entirely routed in one battle at Antium with very little expence of blood. And those of them who survived that action, being obliged to retire to their wall’d towns, and not appearing in defence of their lands, the victorious Romans ravaged the country of the Volsci, and made themselves masters of a fort upon the lake Fucinus^b, wherein they took three thousand prisoners. The dictator having conducted this war so, as it could only be said of him, that he had not neglected an opportunity of signalizing himself, returned to Rome with much more good success than glory, and demitted his office. The military tribunes, without so much as once mentioning the consular comitia, which

CHAP.
LVII.

ed any necessary formality, if they were called by a magistrate that had not sufficient powers, if they were summoned to meet in an improper place, or on a prohibited day, or if any regular opposition was made to their decree, in these cases their resolution was recorded, that the judgment of the senate might be known upon that subject; but it was not considered as a decree of senate duly ratified, or a *senatus consultum*, but only called an *authoritas senatus*, and might be referred to the people for their confirmation. This is clearly proved by Sigonius from Dion. Cassius lib. 55. and other authors. Whence it is easy to conceive the difference between a dictator created by act of senate, or *ex senatus consulto*, and one nominated by the senate’s authority. And in the present case the authority of senate might seem sufficient, because the consent of the people might be presumed from the si-

lence of their tribunes; and the opposition which Servilius mentions, must be supposed to come from his colleagues in the military tribunate, or some other member of the senate.

^b The lake Fucinus, according to Pliny, lay in the country of Marsi and near the dominions of the Volsci. A river rising out of the Pelignian mountains, which Cluverius calls Pitonius, runs through it without mixing it’s waters with it. It yet retains it’s ancient name, being called Lago Fucino, though it is likewise from a town in the neighbourhood often called Lago di Celano. What is most remarkable about it is, that it sometimes rises above it’s banks and overflows the country for five miles; on account of which inundations a fort belonging to the Volsci might be justly said to stand near or upon this lake, though the lake itself for ordinary did not reach within four miles of their country.

I am

CHAP.
LVII.

Seventeenth
mil. tribun.
L. Fur. Me-
dullinus, C.
Val. Potitus,
Num. Fab.
Vibulanus
and C. Ser-
vilius Ahala.
Y. of R. 348.
B. J. C. 404.

I am of opinion was owing to their resentment against those who had been for creating a dictator, summoned the comitia for electing military tribunes. This gave very great concern to the senators, as they thereby saw their cause betray'd by those of their own party. Therefore, as in the preceding year, they had by procuring some of the most worthless plebeians to put up, disgusted the people at others of that rank who were men of worth and merit; so at this time, having prevailed with those of the patricians, who were most considerable for popularity and the lustre of their families, to offer themselves as candidates, they secured all the places, and left room for none of the plebeians. The four military tribunes elected were L. Furius Medullinus, C. Valerius Potitus, Numerius Fabius Vibulanus and C. Servilius Ahala, who had all served in the same office before. The last particularly was re-elected, and thereby continued in his honorable office in regard of his other virtues, but especially on account of the credit he had lately acquired by his singular moderation.

CHAP.
LVIII.

LVIII.

THIS year the truce with the Veientes being expired, the Romans sent deputies, attended by heralds, to demand of them restitution of what they had violently carried out of their dominions. But before they had reached the frontiers, they were met by the ambassadors of that people, who begged they would not go to Veii, before they had obtain'd an audience of the senate at Rome. And so far was the Roman senate from taking advantage of the distresses and calamities of their neighbours to promote their own interests, that in consideration of the civil dissensions under which the Veientes labored, they were prevailed upon not to demand restitution at that time. The same year the Romans sustained damage in the country of the Volsci by the loss of their garison at Verrugo, where a short space of time was of so great consequence, that the troops, who

who were besieged in that fort, and had applied for succor, might have been rescued, had a speedy reinforcement been sent them; but as it happened, the army sent to their relief came only soon enough to cut the enemy to pieces, when they had just put the Roman garison to the sword, and dispersed themselves to pillage the country. The blame of this fatal delay was not to be laid upon the tribunes so much as the senators, who because they heard that their troops made a most vigorous defence, did not reflect that no valor, however great, can exceed the measure of human strength. However, as these brave men sold their lives dear, so they were severely revenged after their death. Next year when P. Cornelius Cossus, Cn. Cornelius Cossus, Numerius Fabius Ambustus, and L. Valerius Potitus were military tribunes with consular power, a motion was made for renewing the war with the Veientes, on account of a haughty answer of their senate, who, when the Roman ambassadors were demanding restitution, ordered them to be told, “that if they did not quickly leave their city and dominions, they would serve them as Lars Tolumnius had served others of the same character.” The Roman senate, highly provoked at this indignity, ordered, “that the military tribunes should, as soon as possible, prefer a bill to the people for declaring war against the Veientes.” But as soon as the motion was made, the youth began to murmur, and said, “that the war with the Volsci was not yet over: two garisons had been lately put to the sword, and the forts they had guarded were now retained with great danger. There was no year passed wherein they had not a battle to fight; and yet, as if they had not enough of hardships and toil, the patricians were concerting a new war with a most powerful nation in their neighbourhood, who would put all Etruria in motion against them.” Thus they talked of their own accord; but the tribunes enflamed

CHAP.
LVIII.

Eighteenth
mil. tribunes
P. and Cn.
Cornelius
Cossus, N.
Fab. Amb-
ustus and
L. Val. Po-
titus.
Y. of R. 349.
B. J. C. 403.

CHAP. flamed them still more by representing, “ that the
 LVIII. “ war the patricians had most at heart was that they
 “ were carrying on against the people, therefore the
 “ latter must be distressed of purpose by being kept
 “ continually in the field, and exposed to be mur-
 “ dered by the enemies. They must be kept at a
 “ distance, and, as it were, banished from the city,
 “ for fear that if they enjoy’d repose at home they
 “ should think of liberty and colonies, or perhaps
 “ concert measures about recovering the lands of
 “ the public, or voting freely in their assemblies.”
 They also addressed themselves to the veterans, count-
 ed their wounds and scars, asking them “ how much
 “ of their bodies was whole to receive new wounds,
 “ and what blood they had remaining to be shed
 “ for the state.” When by insisting on these to-
 picks, both in their private conversations and at as-
 semblies, they had created strong prejudices in the
 people against engaging in this war, the patricians
 put off the bill for some time, because it was plain
 that had it been proposed to the commons, as they
 were then bias’d, it must have been rejected.

CHAP. MEAN time it was resolved that the military
 LIX. tribunes should march an army into the country of
 the Volsci; only Cn. Cornelius was left at Rome.
 The other three, after they found that the Volsci had
 formed no camp, and were satisfied they would not
 hazard a battle, divided their army into three bodies
 and marched different ways to lay waste the enemy’s
 country. Valerius led his army to Antium, and Cor-
 nelius his to Ecetræ, pillaging the houses and coun-
 try all the way round them to amuse the Volsci.
 But Fabius without stopping to plunder marched di-
 rectly to lay siege to Anxur, which was that they
 had chiefly in view. As Anxur^a, now Terracinæ,
 was

^a This city had not it’s name from the Volsci, at least Pliny is of this Greek original as Servius imagines, opinion lib. 3. cap. 5. The Romans but was so called in the language of afterwards called it *Terracinæ*, or in the

was situated on the side of a rising ground with a marsh directly below it, Fabius made a shew of attacking it at that low place. But four cohorts under the conduct of C. Servilius Ahala, who were sent to fetch

CHAP.
LIX.

a compass and possess themselves of the eminence above the town, having on that side, where no guards were planted, attacked the wall with a prodigious clamor and noise, struck such a terror into those who were defending the lowest parts of it against Fabius, that their consternation gave him time to apply his scaling ladders; and in a moment all places were full of enemies. Upon the walls for some time there was nothing but the continued carnage of the townsmen, without distinguishing those who fled, from those who fought, or those who had arms, from such as had none. So that the conquered seeing there was no hope of quarter by surrendering themselves were obliged to renew the fight, till on a sudden they heard a proclamation, "that none should be hurt but such as were found armed," which soon determined them all to lay down their arms and surrender at discretion. In this place two thousand five hundred were taken prisoners; but Fabius would not allow his soldiers to touch any other part of the spoil, till his colleagues should come up; for he said, "That Anxur was taken by those who diverted the rest of the Volsci from defending the place, as well as by those who were employed in the siege." As soon as the three armies were join'd they plundered the city which, by a long train of prosperity, was now become exceeding rich; and this instance of the liberality of the Roman generals was the first occasion of a reconciliation between the patricians and plebeians. To this favor the principal senators soon after added another, which was the most reasonable present they ever made; for before either

the singular number Terracina, which it still retains. It lay beyond the Circeian promontory, near the mouth of the river Ufens, and on the side of a steep rock; whence, Strabo says,

it was first called Trachina, which in the Greek language signifies rough; and this name was afterwards by the Romans converted into *Terracina*.

the

CHAP. the people or their tribunes had given the least hint
 LIX. about it, they prevailed with the senate to enact,
 “ that the soldiers^b who had to this time served at
 “ their own charge, should henceforth have their
 “ pay out of the public treasury.”

CHAP. NEVER, as we are informed, did the people
 LX. receive any favor with such demonstrations of joy.
 They run in great crowds to the senate-house, and
 as the senators went out pulled them by the hand,
 owning, “ that they were justly called fathers, and
 “ had effected by their generosity, that no citi-
 “ zen so long as he should have any measure
 “ of strength, would ever spare himself, or grudge
 “ the effusion of his blood for such an indulgent
 “ country.” As they were very sensible of the va-
 lue of this favor, which at least would secure their
 estates from being wasted, while their bodies were
 engaged in the service of the state, so they were
 charmed to think that the senate had of their own
 accord made an establishment in their favor, which
 had never been concerted by their tribunes, nor de-
 manded by themselves. These circumstances con-
 curred at once to improve their joy, and make their
 acknowledgments the more hearty and sincere. The
 tribunes of the people were the only persons who had
 no share in the common joy and unanimity of all
 ranks upon this occasion. They pretended, “ that
 “ this affair would not give such universal satisfac-
 “ tion to the senators, nor be of such service to

^b By soldiers we are to understand only the foot, who had for more than three hundred years born their own charges in time of war, but ever after the taking of Anxur had pay out of the exchequer. The cavalry had no pay till three years after this, in the time of the war against the Veientes, as our author informs us lib. 5. cap. 7. Polybius tells us, that the pay of the Roman foot in the time of the second Carthaginian war was two oboli a piece a day, that is, when the as was reduced to half an ounce three asses, or some-

thing less than two pence half penny. A centurion had twice, and a Roman knight thrice the pay of a foot soldier. Afterwards in the time of Augustus the foot had ten asses, which is near seven pence three farthings of our money, according to the common computation. But besides this money, they had afterwards a proportion of corn and sometimes clothes, sometimes also they had the plunder of the towns they sack'd, and now and then presents made after gaining vic-
 tories.

“ their cause, as they expected. The design looked
 “ at first sight more promising than it would prove
 “ in experience; for how could this money be raised
 “ but by a general tax upon the people? So that,
 “ at best, they were liberal at other mens expence.
 “ And though others might approve of the design,
 “ those who had already served out their time
 “ would never consent, that their successors should
 “ go to war on better terms than they had done, or
 “ that they who had already served their country at
 “ their own charge should also contribute to the
 “ support of others.” These speeches made some
 impression on a part of the people; and at last when
 a proclamation was issued for raising the tax, the tri-
 bunes also made intimation, “ that they were ready
 “ to support such as should refuse their contingent
 “ for the payment of the troops.” But the nobility
 continuing resolute in the support of what they had
 so well begun, were the first who paid in their con-
 tributions; and because at this time they had no
 silver coin ^a, some sending brass, valued according to
 it's weight ^b, into the treasury, made their propor-
 tion of this tax have a grand appearance. After the
 senators had with great ingenuity paid their contin-
 gents according to the value of their estates, the
 most considerable among the people, who were in
 friendship with the nobility, began to bring in theirs
 according to concert; and when the commons of
 ordinary rank observed how much they were com-
 mended by the senators, and respected as good citi-
 zens by the soldiers, they all of a sudden expressed

^a The use of silver coin among the Romans, if we will give credit to Pliny, lib. 33. cap. 3. began in the four hundred and eighty-third year of Rome, in the consulship of Q. Ogul. Gallus and Q. Fabius Pictor, five years before the first Carthaginian war.

^b By this expression we are often to understand pieces of rough unpolished brass without any stated form or impression, which the Romans valued by it's weight, and used in com-

merce before they had any coin, but sometimes it is used for brass coin, in which sense it seems also to be taken here, for they used brass coin from the time of Servius Tullius their sixth king; but because in payments of greater sums the brass pieces were not counted but weighed, they still continued the name of *æs grave*, or brass by weight, which they had used before they were acquainted with the art of coining.

CHAP. LX. their contempt of the tribune's assistance, and began to contend with one another who should be the first in paying their contributions. They also passed the bill for proclaiming war against the Veientes, and the new military tribunes with consular power marched to Veii at the head of an army, whereof the far greatest part had freely offered their service.

CHAP. LXI. THESE military tribunes were C. Julius Iulus and L. Furius Medullinus for the second time, T. Quinctius Capitolinus, P. Quinctius Cincinnatus, A. Manlius and Manius Æmilius Mamercinus, who were also the persons that first invested Veii. In the beginning of this siege a very full diet of all the states of Hetruria was held at the temple of Voltumna; but they could not at this time come to a resolution whether their whole nation should take part in the war in defence of the Veientes. Next year the siege was not carried on with so great vigor, because some of the military tribunes, and a part of the army, were detached to make war upon the Volsci. The military tribunes with consular power elected for this year were C. Valerius Potitus for the third time, Sp. Nautius Rutilus for the second, Manius Sergius Fidenas, P. Cornelius Maluginensis, Cn. Cornelius Cossus and Cæso Fabius Ambustus. In a battle which was fought with the Volsci between Ferentinum and Ecetra, the Romans had the advantage, and immediately after the military tribunes formed the siege of Artena^a, a city belonging to that people, where the besieged, having attempted to sally out upon them were repulsed with such vigor, that the Romans entered pell mell with them into the city, and all was taken but the citadel, into which, as it was strongly fortified by nature, a body of armed men had re-

Nineteenth
mil. tribun.
C. Jul. Iulus,
L. Furius
Medullinus,
T. Quinctius
Capitolinus,
P. Quinctius
Cincinnatus,
A. Manlius
and Man.
Æmil. Ma-
mercinus.
Y. of R. 350
B. J. C. 402.

Twentieth
mil. tribun.
C. Val. Po-
titus, Man.
Serg. Fide-
nas, P. Cor.
Maluginen-
sis, Cn. Cor.
Cossus,
Cæso Fab.
Ambustus
and Sp. Naut.
Rutilus.
Y. of R. 351.
B. J. C. 401.

^a Cluverius owns that he cannot ascertain the situation of this town; but from the place where the battle, which immediately preceded the siege of it, was fought, it is reasonable to think, it must have been near Norba.

It was not the same with Artena the country of the Cærites, as the author has told us in this place, with Artena, or rather Ortona, city belonging to the Latines, which has been already mentioned.

tired. The assailants, having made a great slaughter of the townsmen, and taken many prisoners under this fortress, afterwards laid siege to the fort itself. But it could not be taken by force because it had a sufficient garison, considering the extent of the place ; nor was there any hopes of obliging it to surrender, because before the town was taken, all the corn in the public magazines had been conveyed into it. So that the Romans must at last have been tired out, and raised the siege, if it had not been betrayed into their hands by a slave, who having conducted a detachment of soldiers through a steep and intricate passage, and admitted them into the place, they soon made themselves masters of it. For having killed the guards and sentries, all the rest of the garison were struck with such a sudden terror that they surrendered themselves at discretion. The Romans upon this success demolished the town and citadel of Artena ; and having marched their legions out of the country of the Volsci, turned their whole force against the city of Veii. The traitor, besides his liberty, had the plunder of two families as a reward : and was afterwards called Servius Romanus. Some think that Artena was a city in the country of the Veientes not of the Volsci. The ground of their mistake is, that there was once a town of this name between Cære and Veii, but besides that it was destroyed by the Roman kings, it belonged to the Cærites not the Veientes ; whilst this other, the destruction whereof we have just now described, was situated in the country of the Volsci.

End of the FOURTH BOOK.

THE ROMAN HISTORY,

BY

TITUS LIVIUS of *Padua*.

B O O K V.

Barracks built for the soldiers to winter in at the siege of Veii ; which being a new thing raises the indignation of the tribunes of the people, who complain, that the people enjoy no rest from war, even in the winter. At this time the knights first begin to serve on their own horses. There happening an inundation of the Alban lake, a soothsayer is taken from the enemy to interpret the cause of it. The dictator, Furius Camillus, takes Veii, after it had endured a ten year's siege, and from thence transports the image of Juno to Rome, and sends a tenth part of the spoil to Apollo at Delphos. The same Camillus, commanding as military tribune at the siege of Falerii, sends back to their parents the enemies children who had been betray'd into his hands. The Falisci, won by this generous act of justice, surrender their city to him. C. Julius one of the censors dying, M. Cornelius is elected in his stead, a thing never after allowed, because the Gauls took Rome during that lustrum. Furius Camillus, being prosecuted by L. Apuleius tribune of the people, goes into banishment. The Senones, a people of Gaul, besiege Clusium, and the ambassadors, sent by the senate to mediate a peace between them and the Clusnians, fight against the Gauls at the head of the Clusnian troops. This so exasperates the Senones that they march to Rome sword in hand, rout the Romans at the river Allia and take the city, all except the capitol, whither the youth had betaken themselves. They kill all the old men, as they sat in the porches of their houses, adorned with the ensigns of the honors they had born. Getting up on the backside to the top of the capitol they

they are discovered by the cackling of geese, and tumbled down headlong chiefly by the valor of M. Manlius. Famine at last obliges the Romans to come down, to pay the Gauls a thousand pounds weight of gold, and therewith purchase the raising of the siege. Furius Camillus, who had been created dictator in his absence, comes up with his army while they are weighing the gold, and after they had been there six months drives the Gauls out of the city and puts them all to the sword. A temple is built to Aius Locutius in that spot where, before the taking of Rome, his voice was heard, forewarning them of the approach of the Gauls. The Romans propose to remove to Veii, because Rome was burnt and demolished; but are diverted from this design by Camillus. The people also fancy there is a good omen in the expression of a centurion, who, when he came with his men into the forum, said, "halt soldiers, we had best stay here."

WHILST all around enjoyed peace, the Romans and Veientes remained in arms, with such rage and malice on both sides, that it appeared, the war must terminate in the entire ruin of the conquered. Even the comitia of the two nations acted very differently. The Romans augmented the number of their military tribunes with consular power. For this year they elected eight^a, a greater number than had ever been created on any former occasion, viz. Manius Æmilius Mamercinus a second time, L. Valerius Potitus a third time, Appius Claudius Crassus, M. Quintilius Varus, L. Julius Iulus, M. Posthumius, M. Furius Camillus and M. Posthumius Albinus. Whereas the Veientes, quite weary of the annual intrigues about the election, which sometimes occasioned broils, chose themselves a king. This step gave great offence to the other Hettrurian states, not more from an abhorrence of monarchy, than a particular dislike to the person of this king. As his haughty and over-grown power had formerly rendered him insupportable to those people; so he had

CHAP.

1.

Y. of R. 352.
B. J. C. 400.

Military
tribuneship
Man. Æmil.
Mamerci-
nus, M. Val.
Potitus, Ap.
Claud. Cras-
sus, M. Q.
Varus, L.
Julius Iulus,
M. Posthu-
mius, M.
Furius Ca-
millus and
M. Posth.
Albinus.

^a Some writers seem to think that our author is mistaken when he says there were eight military tribunes this year, and has added the two censors M. Furius Camillus and M. Posthumius Albinus to the six military tribunes. Of this opinion are Sigonius

and Pighius. And Plutarch expressly affirms that Camillus bore the office of censor, before he did that of military tribune with consular power. And hitherto we have not read of his being censor.

CHAP. I. violently interrupted their yearly games, wherein they thought it unlawful to make any intermission. For as the twelve lucumonies had in the election of an high priest preferred another to him, in resentment of this affront he took the opportunity, when the celebration of the games was half over, to carry off all on a sudden the actors, a great part of whom were his own slaves. On this account the Heturians, who are more given to the observance of religious rites than any other nation, because they excel in a decent performance of them, resolved in their general diet to refuse aid to the Veientes, as long as they should continue under regal government. The accounts of this resolution were suppressed at Veii for fear of the king, who would have treated him that should have brought such news, as a ringleader of sedition, though he would not have been author of a groundless story. Although the Romans had intelligence from Hetruria, that all the states there were quiet, yet upon receiving advice that this affair had been debated in all their councils, they secured their camp between two lines^b; the one raised against the city, to defend them from the sallies of the townsmen; the other facing Hetruria, to prevent any succors that might happen to come from thence.

CHAP. II. AS the Roman generals had greater hopes of taking this city by blockade than by assault, they began to build winter barracks^a, a thing quite new to the Roman soldiery, intending to continue the war during the winter. But when this news reached Rome, the tribunes of the people, who for a long time had found no occasion of raising disturbances,

^b If the Romans did not at this time first invent those lines of circumvallation and contravallation which have been since so much in use, yet at least this is the first time of their being mentioned in Roman antiquity.

^a We must not confound the *by-bernacula* and *byberna*. The former were barracks built in camps of thin


plank and covered with skins, thus differing widely from the common tents used in summer encampments. The latter for the most part are built in towns or villages, to quarter troops in time of peace, or during winter after a summer campaign. They are likewise called garisons. See note in the following page.




repaired in great hurry to the assembly, and exasperated the minds of the commons. They represented, “ that this was the view, in granting pay
 “ to the soldiers. Nor had they been deceived,
 “ when they suspected this largess of their enemies
 “ to be gilded poison ^b. It was the price of the
 “ people’s liberty. The youth were for ever removed and banished from the city and republic;
 “ and without regard to it’s being winter, or to the
 “ rigorous season of the year, were not allowed to
 “ visit their houses and estates. What did they
 “ take to be the cause of thus continuing the campaign? Truly they would find no other but
 “ a design to prevent the passing of any act for
 “ the benefit of the plebeians, in full assembly of
 “ those youth, who were the main strength of the
 “ people. Besides the Roman army endured greater
 “ hardships and fatigues than the Veientes themselves. For the latter, defending their town
 “ within good walls, and by the strength of it’s natural situation, passed the winter in their houses;
 “ whereas the Roman youth, buried in snow, and
 “ covered with frost, amidst toil and hard labor, endured the rigors of the season in tents ^c, without
 “ laying aside their arms even during winter, a time
 “ when all war is suspended both by sea and land.
 “ Neither the kings, nor even the haughty consuls
 “ before the creation of tribunician authority, nor
 “ the rigorous unlimited power of a dictator, nay
 “ nor the cruel decemvirs, had imposed a yoke of
 “ servitude like this, to which the military tribunes
 “ subjected the people, in forcing them to keep the
 “ field the whole year round. What would these

^b This seems to allude to an ancient proverb, *Hostium munera, nec munera*. See Erasmus on this proverb.

^c As the ancients covered their tents with hydes of beasts, hence *sub pellibus* signifies to remain in tents. But it is most probable our author in this expression alludes to the hybernacula, mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, especially as he uses the same words book xxxvii, where he lays down the difference between *byberna* and *bybernacula*; *aut SUB PELLIBUS habendos milites esse, aut si concedere in byberna vellet, differendum IN ÆSTATEM bellum*.

CHAP. II.  have done, had they been consuls or dictators, who made the proconsulate, which was but the image of consular authority, so severe and rigorous? But you have deservedly met with this fate, seeing there was not so much as room for one plebeian among eight military tribunes. The patricians used formerly to struggle hard before they could fill up three of those places. Now eight at a time come to be advanced to the supreme authority; and yet in all that number there is not room for one plebeian, who, if he could do nothing else, might put his colleagues in mind that the soldiers were not slaves, but freemen and fellow citizens, and ought, at least in the winter season, to be brought back to their homes and houses; that they might, at some time of the year, see their parents, children and wives, be in possession of their liberty, and give their suffrages in the election of magistrates." The tribunes loudly exclaimed in these and other such expressions, but found an adversary, every way their match, in the person of Appius Claudius, who had been left by his colleagues to suppress their seditions. He had been, even from his youth, inured to contend with the plebeians, and, as we have observed, some years before this had advised rendering the power of the tribunes ineffectual by the interposition of their own colleagues^d.

CHAP. III.  AS this magistrate had not only a very ready wit, but long practice in declaiming, he on that occasion made the following speech. "Romans, if ever it were dubious, whether your tribunes constantly raised seditions on your or their own account, I am certain, your doubts on that score are removed this year. And while I rejoice, that you are at length convinced of a mistake you have so long labored under, I at the same time congratulate you, and the republic for your sakes, that the

^d See book iv, chap, xlviii. p. 26.

“ prosperity you now enjoy contributes so much to
 “ the removal of this error. Can any one in the
 “ least question but your tribunes are more offend-
 “ ed and provoked at the patricians liberality to the
 “ people, when they granted pay to the soldiers, than
 “ with any injuries you have suffered, if indeed you
 “ have suffered any? What else, do you imagine,
 “ alarmed them at that time, or what is it they now
 “ want to disturb, except the harmony of the two
 “ orders of the state, which they apprehend will
 “ prove the certain ruin of their power? Thus,
 “ like knavish physicians, they seek employment
 “ for themselves; and would be glad to see the
 “ state always diseased, that you might apply to
 “ them for a cure. Whether, tribunes, are you pro-
 “ tectors or enemies of the people? Are you adver-
 “ saries to, or advocates for the soldiers? Perhaps you’ll
 “ answer, neither, but that you are displeased with
 “ whatever the patricians do, whether for or against
 “ the interest of the people. And as masters for-
 “ bid their slaves all intercourse with other men,
 “ and think it reasonable that none but themselves
 “ should use them well or ill; so you prohibit the
 “ patricians all commerce with the commons, lest
 “ we by our complaisance and liberality should oblige
 “ them, and they in their turn should pay regard
 “ and obedience to our orders. But pray how much
 “ rather ought you, if you had, I do not say regard
 “ for the benefit of the state, but any spark of huma-
 “ nity in you, to contribute your utmost endeavours
 “ to promote and cherish this complaisance in the
 “ patricians and that obedience in the people? For
 “ should this good understanding perpetually sub-
 “ sist, who would not confidently promise, that this
 “ our empire would in a short time be the greatest
 “ among all the neighbouring nations.

“ I shall by and by clearly demonstrate, how much CHAP.
 “ the resolution of my colleagues not to withdraw IV.
 “ the forces from before Veii, till it is taken, is not
 “ only

CHAP.

IV.



“ only advantageous, but even necessary ; at present
 “ give me leave to speak of what concerns the con-
 “ dition of the troops there. And I am convinced,
 “ that not only you, but was I to speak in the camp,
 “ and the soldiers to be my judges, even they would
 “ think what I am about to suggest very reasonable.
 “ For if I could think of nothing to urge in this busi-
 “ ness, I should certainly rest satisfied with what
 “ my adversaries have said, and confute them from
 “ their own speeches. They lately insisted that the
 “ soldiers ought not to have pay allowed them, be-
 “ cause no precedent could be brought for such al-
 “ lowance. With what face then can they now
 “ take umbrage, at an additional service, and pro-
 “ portioned to their gain, being imposed on them,
 “ who have received an augmentation of profit?
 “ Labor is never without it's reward, nor is advan-
 “ tage in most cases to be had without pains-taking.
 “ Pains and pleasure, though in nature very-unlike,
 “ yet have a kind of natural connexion with each
 “ other. The soldier formerly repined at doing the
 “ public service at his own cost, but was glad to
 “ employ a part of the year in cultivating his land,
 “ to get subsistence for his family at home, and for
 “ himself when he took the field. Now he re-
 “ joices that his gain arises from the republic, and
 “ receives his pay with gladness. As he is at no
 “ expence let him keep the field some time longer,
 “ and patiently bear being absent from home, and
 “ his family affairs. If the public should call him
 “ to account, might it not with reason say, you are
 “ paid for the whole year, therefore do a whole
 “ year's service ? Do you think it reasonable to re-
 “ ceive pay for the whole year, when you do but six
 “ months duty ? Romans, the mention of these
 “ things give me sensible pain ; for they only, who
 “ employ mercenary troops, ought to talk at this
 “ rate. We desire to act with you as with fellow
 “ citizens, and think with reason that you ought to
 “ act with us as with your native country. Either
 “ we should not have undertaken this war, or we
 “ ought

“ ought to carry it on in a manner worthy of Ro- CHAP.
 “ mans, and put an end to it as soon as possible. IV.
 “ The means to bring it to a period is vigorously to
 “ press the besieged ; and not to draw off our
 “ troops, till we have crowned our hopes by taking
 “ Veii. If indeed we had no other reason, the
 “ very disgrace of raising the blockade ought to in-
 “ duce our perseverance. In former times there was
 “ a city besieged for ten years by the united force
 “ of all Greece, for the sake of one woman ; how
 “ far from home ! how many countries, how many
 “ seas distant ! And shall we grudge to carry on a
 “ siege for one year, within twenty miles, almost with-
 “ in sight of our city ? Can it be said the ground of the
 “ war is inconsiderable, and we have no just provoca-
 “ tion to engage us to prosecute it ? No surely. Seven
 “ times have they renewed hostilities ; never kept
 “ their faith in peace ; and have a thousand times
 “ ravaged our lands ; they forced the Fidenates to
 “ revolt, and have massacred the colonies we had
 “ amongst that people ; they caused our ambassadors
 “ to be impiously assassinated contrary to the law of
 “ nations ; they wanted to stir up all Etruria against
 “ us, and even at this time endeavour it. They
 “ were not far from doing violence to our ambassa-
 “ dors we sent to demand reparation of damages.

“ OUGHT we after this to act gently, and pro- CHAP.
 “ tract the war with these people ? But moreover, sup- V.
 “ posing we were insensible to all these just grounds of
 “ resentment, pray don't the following considerations
 “ make some impression upon you ? The enemy's
 “ city is surrounded with considerable works, which
 “ keep them close shut up within their walls. Here-
 “ by they are prevented from cultivating great part
 “ of their lands, and that part is ruined that was
 “ cultivated. If we draw off our troops, who can
 “ doubt but they, prompted not only by a desire
 “ of revenge, but necessity of plundering other peo-
 “ ple's country, now they have lost their own, will
 “ invade our territories ? We do not, therefore, by
 “ following

CHAP. V. following this advice of your tribunes remove the war from, but draw it into our own country. But with regard to what properly concerns the troops, for whom your good tribunes all of a sudden pretend so great a concern, though they would lately have wrested their pay from them, pray let us see what may be the real amount of this concern? The army have with immense labor drawn a ditch and rampart through a large tract of ground. On them they at first formed only a few forts, but have since increased their number in proportion as the troops were reinforced. They have raised works not only against the town, but against Etruria, in case the besieged should have any succor sent from thence. Why need I mention the towers^a, galleries^b and mantelets^c, with all the other machines used in sieges? After having gone through so much labor, and brought our works to perfection, are you of opinion that they ought to be abandoned, that the army may undergo the same toil in renewing them in summer? How much easier will it be to preserve them, to press and continue the siege with vigor, and by perseverance accom-

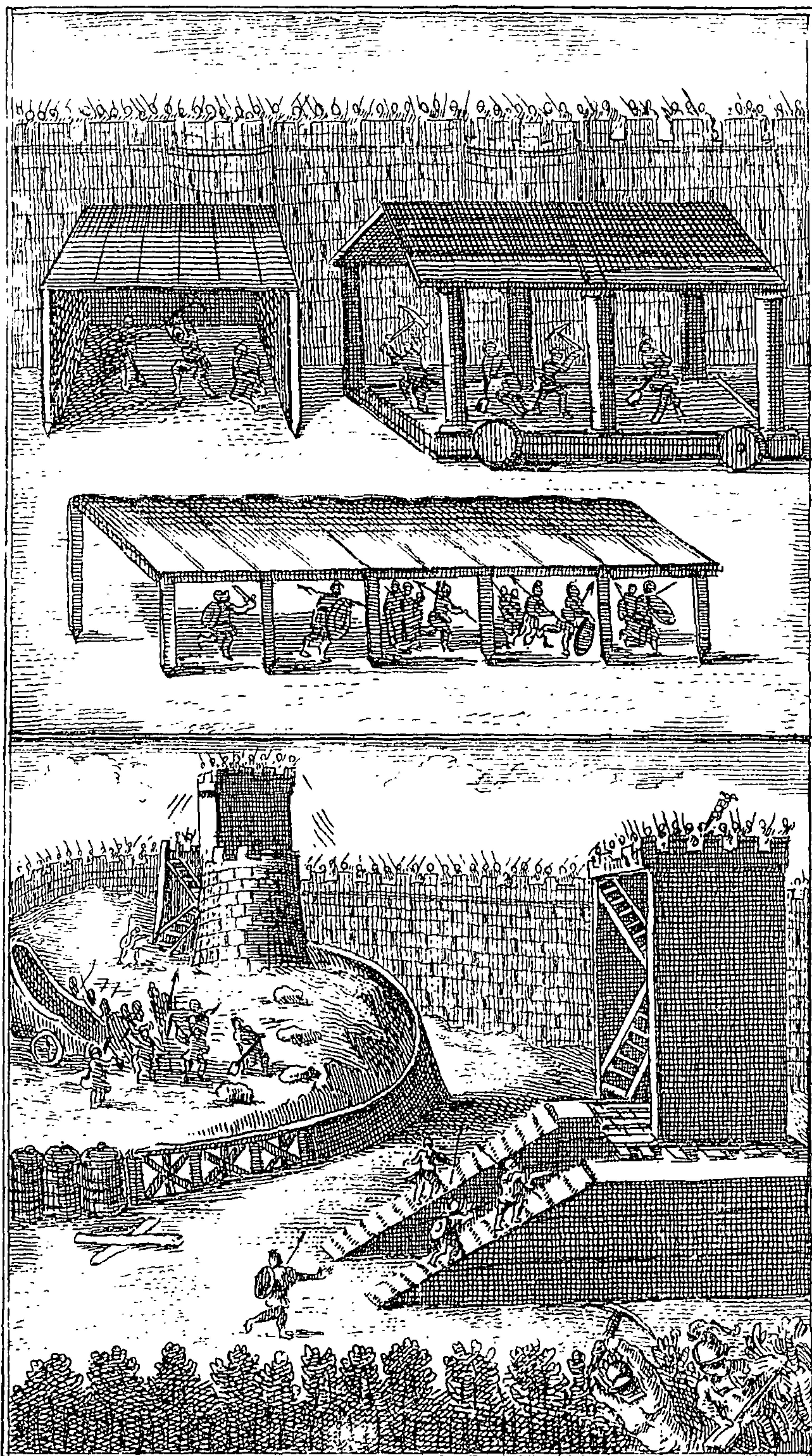
^a They were wooden towers, which moved on four or more wheels, placed within them and out of sight, such as those invented in Sicily by Hero in the time of the Elder Dionysius. In order to make them higher than the enemy's fortifications, they were raised to ten and sometimes a greater number of stories, closely floored. In them the cranes, scaling ladders, bridges, and other machines for entering cities, were brought up to the walls, and from them the besiegers first annoyed the besieged with darts and other missile weapons, and then closed with them foot to foot.

^b The military vineæ or galleries were made of thin rafters, and were eight foot high, seven broad, and sixteen long. Their roofs were made of planks and hurdles, their sides wickered with twigs, and covered over in the outside with raw hydes,

They moved on secret wheels like the towers.

^c Appian does not here mean the tortoises which the soldiers made in form of a roof, by laying their bucklers edging one above another over their heads, and upon which they climbed one above another, till they were as high as the enemy. But those wooden mantelets, the invention whereof Pliny ascribes to Artemo of Clazomene. They were used in digging or filling up trenches, and levelling uneven ground, or likewise to hang and bring up the battering rams to the walls. They moved on secret wheels in the same manner as the vineæ did. But their roofs and fronts were not so flat, but sloped, that the darts thrown from the walls, falling obliquely, might slide off again, and so the soldiers within them remain in perfect safety,

“ plish



plish our designs : for certainly it will last but a short time, if we continue it without intermission, and do not ourselves frustrate our hopes by interruptions and delays of our own making. Hitherto I have spoke of the labor we must undergo, and of the loss of our time. But to proceed. What must we think of the danger we incur by spinning out the war ? Will those frequent deliberations of the Hetrurian diets upon sending aid to Veii, suffer us to overlook them ? As matters now stand, these states are incensed against the Veientes ; they hate them and have refused to send them assistance ; nay, as far as lies in their power, leave us at liberty to take their town. But who will undertake, that, in case the war is delayed, they shall continue in the same mind ? For if we give the Veientes time to breathe, they will send more frequent and more important embassies. And the king at Veii, who now gives umbrage to the other Hetrurian lucumonies, may in time be deposed, by the common consent of his subjects, that by this means they may regain the favor of those states, or he voluntarily abdicate, that his government may be no obstacle to the safety of his dominions. Consider seriously how many inconveniencies and disadvantages will result from following the counsels of your tribunes ; the loss of works raised with so great labor ; the impending devastation of our country ; and a war with all the Hetrurian states in room of one with Veii. These, tribunes, are the measures you advise ; and wherein your conduct exactly resembles his, who by giving some delicious meat or agreeable potion to a sick person, prolongs his distemper, and perhaps renders it incurable ; whereas the patient might have quickly recovered, if he would have resolutely endured a rougher cure."

" AND truly, though this winter campaign was of no essential concern to the present war ; yet certainly

CHAP.

v.

CHAP.

vi.

CHAP.

VI.

“ tainly it would contribute much to the advance-
 “ ment of military discipline to accustom our troops,
 “ not only to enjoy the fruits of the victories they gain,
 “ but, when the war is spun out, to bear the tedious-
 “ ness thereof with patience, and wait the issue of their
 “ hopes, however long it may be deferred ; to continue
 “ the war during winter if it could not be terminated
 “ in the summer ; and not like summer birds, as soon
 “ as autumn comes on, look round for houses of shel-
 “ ter and a safe retreat. But, I beseech you, does the
 “ strong desire and pleasure of hunting hurry men
 “ over mountains and through forests covered with
 “ frost and snow ; and shall we not shew the same
 “ patience in a necessary war, which we are wont to
 “ discover in pursuit of sport and pleasure ? Do we
 “ think the bodies of our soldiers so enervated, and
 “ their minds so soft and effeminate, that they cannot
 “ continue in their camp or be absent from home for
 “ one winter ? That like those who carry on a war
 “ by sea they must watch the changes of weather, and
 “ observe seasons ; and are incapable of bearing either
 “ heat or cold. Were they to be told so, they would
 “ surely blush and assert, that they wanted neither
 “ a manly courage nor hardy bodies, and could make
 “ war as well in winter as in summer : that they
 “ had not commissioned the tribunes to patronize
 “ effeminacy and indolence, and were still mindful
 “ that their ancestors were not under shades or roofs
 “ when they instituted the tribunician power. Such
 “ sentiments are worthy of your brave soldiers, wor-
 “ thy of the Roman name ! not to regard the Ve-
 “ entes, and the present war alone, but to extend
 “ the view farther, and endeavour to secure a re-
 “ putation to prepare you for other wars and for
 “ dealing with other nations in times to come. Do
 “ not you imagine your character will be greatly af-
 “ fected by your behaviour in this instance ? Are
 “ you indifferent, whether the neighbouring nations
 “ consider the Romans as a people from whom a

city can have nothing farther to fear, after it has stood your first attack, which at the same time will be very short? Are you not concerned to establish the terror of our name upon a firm persuasion, that neither the tediousness of a long siege, nor the rigors of the winter, are capable of making a Roman army abandon a town they have once invested; that you know no other end of war excepting victory; and distinguish yourselves as much by your perseverance, as the violence of your attacks? Perseverance, indeed is necessary in all kinds of warfare, but more essentially so in besieging towns; most part of which, though impregnable by reason of their fortifications and natural situation, are yet in time reduced to surrender, by hunger and thirst; as Veii will be, if your tribunes don't aid the enemy, and the Veientes find not that assistance at Rome, which they in vain sought in Hetruria. Can any thing fall out more grateful to that people, than the seeing Rome first, and then, as it were by contagion, the camp, filled with seditions? On the contrary, our enemies are so quiet that neither a tedious siege, nor the oppression of monarchy, have occasioned any revolution amongst them. The Hetrurians refusing to assist them has not excited them to mutiny. Whoever there shall raise a sedition, will immediately be put to death; nor dare any of them mutter what you discourse of with impunity; for whoever deserts his colors, or abandons his post, incurs the bastinado. But in Rome they who advise not one or two soldiers, but whole armies, to leave their colors, and quit their camp, are heard with applause in public assemblies; so that you are accustomed to listen, with patience, to whatever your tribunes please to say, even though it tend to betray your native country, and ruin the commonwealth. Bewitched with the sweets of tribunician power, you mind not what crimes may lye concealed under it. They

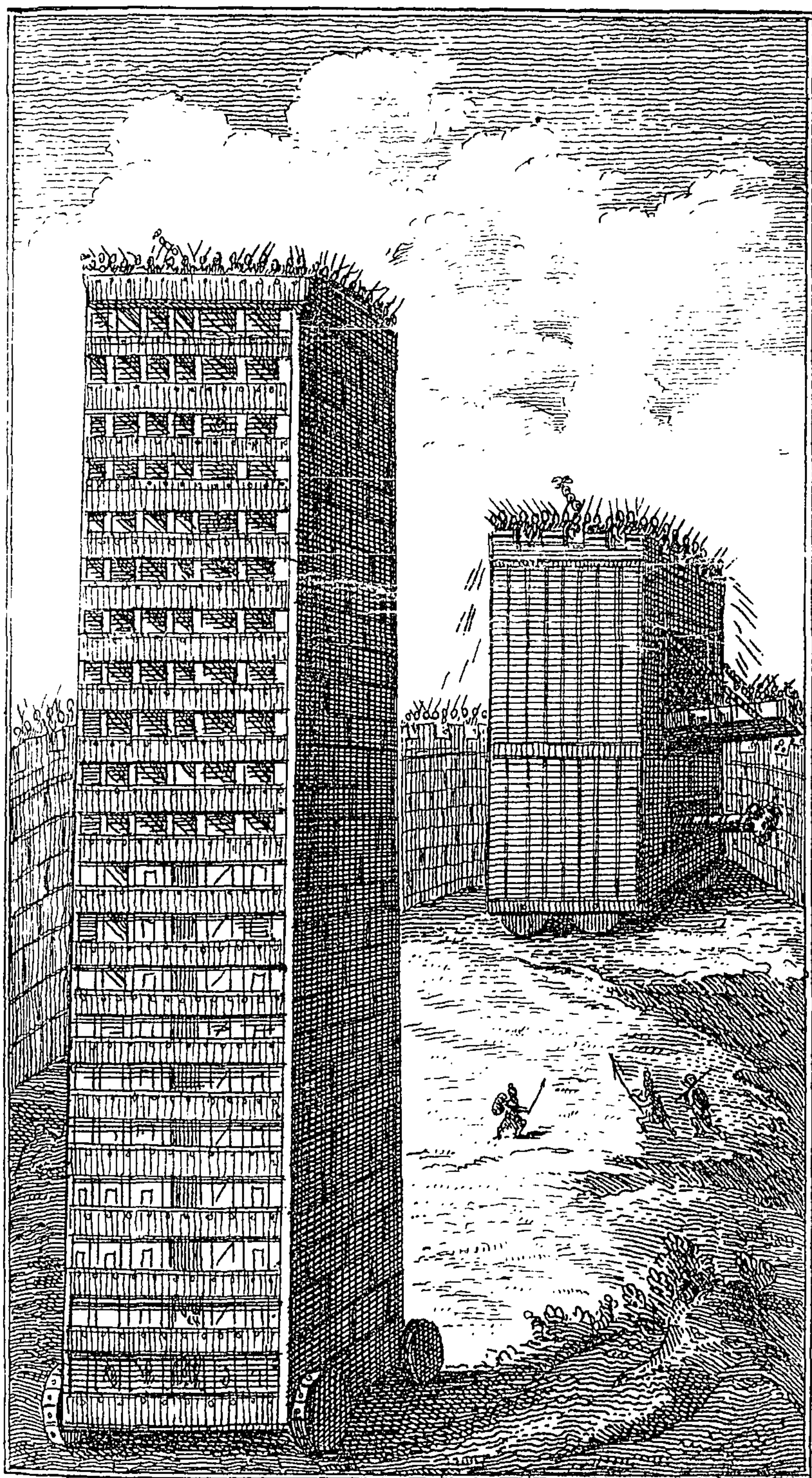
“ need

CHAP. VI. need only to make the same clamor among the troops in the camp, that they do here ; to corrupt the army, and cause them to disobey their officers : for liberty at Rome is at length made to consist in regarding neither senate, magistrates, laws, customs of our ancestors, institutions of the venerable fathers, nor military discipline."

CHAP. VII. APPIUS was already a match for the tribunes of the people even in their assemblies, when the sudden news of a loss the army had sustained before Veii, an incident from which one would never have expected such an effect, gave him a complete victory over them in the present cause, and likewise more closely cemented the good understanding between the two orders of the state, at the same time inspiring them with ardor more vigorously to continue the siege. For having raised a mount^a near the town, and nothing remaining but to fix the galleries to the walls ; while they were more intent on carrying on their works by day, than guarding them by night, on a sudden a gate of the town was opened, and great numbers, armed chiefly with torches, sallied out and set fire to the Roman works. In an instant it consumed both the mount and galleries, which had cost so long time to raise ; nay many, who in vain endeavoured to extinguish the flames, were either burnt to death or killed by the enemy. When this news was brought to Rome it occasioned great sorrow among all ranks, but made the senators anxious and apprehensive, lest it should be impossible to prevent a sedition both in the city and in the camp, and the tribunes should insult the commonwealth as if they had got a victory over it. But quickly, such

^a The *agger* was a kind of bulwark made of fascines, stones and earth closely compacted and raised to any requisite height. On the outside it was formed of balisters crossing each other in form of a lattice. It was generally very near as high as

the walls of the besieged town against which it was raised, and had wooden towers upon it for the most part higher than the walls, from whence they threw darts and other missile weapons against the enemy.





16. 2. P. 64

as had estates sufficient to entitle them to be enrolled in the rank of knights, to whom the public had not assigned horses^b, having consulted together, repaired to the senate. There, having obtained audience, they promised “to serve the state on their own horses.” After the senate had thanked them in the most gracious manner, and the report of their generous offer had spread all over the city and forum, the commons suddenly assembled in crowds round the senate house, saying, “That as they be-
CHAP.
VII.

longed to that order which then served on foot, so they freely, without being levied in the ordinary form, offered their service to the republic, either at Veii, or wherever else the senate pleased to lead them. And if they should be led to Veii, they would never return from thence, till they should take that city from their enemies.” It was then impossible to set bounds to the transporting joy this zeal of the people occasioned: for they were not ordered to be thanked, as the knights had been, by magistrates appointed on purpose; nor were any of them called into the senate-house, to receive an answer; neither could the senators be kept within their house, but placed themselves on an eminence, whence each in his own name expressed his joy, both by words and gestures, to the people assembled below in the forum. They cried out, “that this concord would make Rome happy, invincible, and eternal.” They praised the knights, praised the plebeians, nay even declared the day itself worthy of grateful remembrance, and confessed that the senate was now outdone in complaisance and generosity. Both patricians and plebeians in noble emulation shed tears of joy. At length the members being recalled to the house, they passed this decree, “that the military tribunes should call an assembly, and thank the

^b The necessary ceremony to make a citizen a knight, was receiving a horse from the republic, which was likewise kept at the public charge. And the richer citizens, whose estate and birth qualified them to be admitted into this order, often served in the army as volunteers on their own horses.

CHAP. VII.  cavalry and infantry, and assure them that the senate would never forget the generous concern they had shewn for the good of their native country. They likewise ordered that those, who had voluntarily offered to serve in the war without being levied in form, should be allowed pay from that time." On this occasion a constant and fixed pay was also granted to the knights^c. And this was the first time they begun to receive pay on account of their military service. This army of volunteers marched to Veii, where they not only repaired the ruined works, but raised new ones. Provisions were brought from the city with greater care than ever, that an army which deserved so well of the state might want for nothing.

CHAP. VIII.  THE military tribunes chosen for next year were C. Servilius Ahala, a third time, Q. Servilius, L. Virginius, Q. Sulpicius, A. Manlius, a second time, and Manius Sergius a second time. While, under these tribunes, all were solely intent upon the Veientine war, by the negligence of those who kept garison at Anxur, in giving furloughs to the soldiers, and admitting the Volscan merchants, the sentinels at the gates were betrayed, and the fort surprized. Few of the soldiers perished, because, excepting such as were sick, they all followed the business of sutlers in the adjacent country and neighbouring towns. Neither had the Romans better success before Veii, which then engrossed the whole care of the public. For the Roman generals shewed greater enmity among themselves, than courage against the enemy; besides, the strength of the Veientes was also augmented by the sudden accession of the Capenates^a and Falisci. These

two

^c Our author tells us in the lixth chap. of the preceding book, that the infantry had pay granted them by a senatus-consultum; but this is the first time we read of pay being granted to the cavalry. According to his account elsewhere, each foot soldier received two oboli a day, and each

knight thrice as much, viz. six oboli, or ten Roman asses. See the note ^b, p. 48.

^a Their capital city was Capena, which lay on the right bank of the Tyber, on the frontier of Hetruria. Ortelius and many others are of opinion that the ancient Capena, is that

two Hetrurian nations were apprehensive, that after the conquest of Veii, to which their countries lay contiguous, the Romans would next fall upon them. The Falisci likewise were obnoxious to the Roman resentment on a particular account; for they had formerly taken part in the war with the Fidenates. Having, therefore, sent deputies up and down to the neighbouring states, they bound themselves under an oath, and marched, when least expected, with their armies to Veii. They happen'd to attack that quarter of the Roman camp, where the military tribune Manius Sergius commanded, and struck great terror into his troops; for the Romans imagined that all Hetruria was up in arms, and was already arrived in a full body. The Veientes within the city were of the same opinion, and immediately made a sally. Thus was the Roman camp assaulted on both sides, and while they run to and fro, charging sometimes in one place, and sometimes in another, they were neither able to keep the Veientes within their fortifications, nor defend their own lines, and save themselves from the enemy on the outside. Their only hope was in being supported by troops from the grand camp, that some of the legions might make head against the Capenates and Falisci, while others withstood the sallies of the townsmen. But Virginius, who secretly envied, and was an enemy to Sergius, commanded the grand camp. When he was told that most part of their forts were assaulted, their lines broke through, and the enemy advancing on both sides, he kept his troops under arms, saying, if his colleague should want his assistance, "he would send to him." Sergius's obstinacy equalled Virginius's arrogance, for that he might not seem to ask aid from one with whom he was at variance, he chose rather to be defeated by the enemy, than be

town commonly called *Canapina*, situated on mount Ciminus, not far from Viterbium. Cluverius thinks it was the present *la Civitella*, lying at the foot of mount Sora&c. But Holstenius

and Ligerius, with greater probability, guess it to be that town now called *Morlupo*, in St. Peter's patrimony.

CHAP. obliged to his fellow citizen for victory. Thus be-
 VIII. tween them the troops for a long time were slaugh-
 tered ; but at length abandoning their lines a few
 fled to their grand camp, but Sergius at the head of
 the greatest part made his escape to Rome. Here,
 as he laid the whole blame upon his colleague, Virgi-
 nius was ordered to be sent for from the camp, and
 the command given to the lieutenant generals in his
 absence. Then the senate made enquiry into the
 affair, and in the debate the two colleagues ran into
 invectives against each other. Even few of the se-
 nators minded the public interest, but almost all
 stood up for one or other of the two tribunes, as
 private friendship or favor determined them.

CHAP. THE principal senators were of opinion, that,
 IX. whether this ignominious defeat had happened
 through the fault or misfortune of the generals, they
 ought not to wait the ordinary time fixed for assem-
 bling the comitia ; but to proceed immediately to
 the election of new military tribunes, who should en-
 ter into office on the first day of october. This o-
 pinion being generally approved of, the rest of the
 military tribunes acquiesced. Only Sergius and Vir-
 ginus, on whose account it appeared the senate were
 displeased with that year's magistrates, at first ear-
 nestly begged not to be disgraced, and then pro-
 tested against the senate's decree, refusing to quit their
 magistracy till the thirteenth of december, the usu-
 al time when magistrates entered into their office.
 Upon this the tribunes of the people, who had con-
 trary to their inclinations been quiet while they saw
 the good understanding which subsisted between all
 ranks, and the state in a flourishing condition, began
 all on a sudden imperiously to threaten that they
 would imprison the military tribunes, if they did not
 obey the senate's decree. Then C. Servilius Ahala, a
 military tribune, addressed himself to them. " Tri-
 " bunes of the people, as to you and your menaces,
 " truly I would willingly see it proved by experience,
 " that


“ that you have no more courage to execute them, CHAP.
 “ than right to utter them. But it is criminal to IX.
 “ contend against the authority of the senate. Cease,
 “ therefore, to make our differences a handle for do-
 “ ing injustice. As to my colleagues, they shall ei-
 “ ther submit to the senate’s decree, or, if they are
 “ refractory, I will immediately nominate a dicta-
 “ tor, who can oblige them to quit their office.”

Every body approved of this speech, and the senators were very much pleased, that a more effectual method was found out for conquering the obstinacy of magistrates, without employing the terrors of the tribunician power. Sergius and Virginius being thus overcome, the military tribunes with common consent held the comitia, and elected successors who were to begin their magistracy on the first of october, and the former abdicated their office before that day.

THE new tribunes with consular power were CHAP.
 L. Valerius Potitus a fourth, M. Furius Camillus, X
 Manius Æmilius Mamercinus a third, Cn. Cornelius
 Cossus a second time, Cæso Fabius Ambustus and
 L. Julius Iulus. Their administration produced
 work in abundance at home, and many wars abroad.
 For the republic was engaged in many wars at the
 same time against Veii, Capena, Falerii, and with
 the Volsci, in order to recover Anxur: besides they
 labored under great difficulties both in making the
 levies, and collecting the taxes at Rome. There
 was likewise a great struggle in the election of two
 tribunes of the people by their colleagues^a; and the
 trial of two of the former military tribunes, with con-
 sular power, raised no small commotion. The military
 tribunes, however, postponed every thing to making
 the levies. They not only listed the young men,
 but even obliged the old to enrol themselves to serve
 as a guard to the city. The more the number of the

Twenty-
 third m.
 tribuneship
 L. Valerius
 Potitus, M.
 Furius Ca-
 millus, Ma-
 nius Æmi-
 lius Mamer-
 cinus, Cn.
 Cornelius
 Cossus, Cæ-
 so Fabius
 Ambustus,
 and L. Juli-
 us Iulus.
 Y. of R. 354.
 B. J. C. 398.

^a See below the end of this chapter, and beginning of chap. xi.

CHAP. X.  soldiers was augmented, the more money became necessary for their pay: and that was raised by a tax on those that remained at home, who were very unwilling to pay it, because they did the duty of soldiers, and served the state, in defending the city. And the tribunes of the people endeavoured to render these real grievances more intolerable by their seditious harangues. They represented, “ that the design
 “ in granting pay to the soldiers was to ruin part
 “ of the people by service in the war, and part by
 “ the imposition of taxes. One war was already spun out to the third^b year, and had been
 “ designedly ill managed, in order to protract it
 “ longer. Now at one levy armies were raised
 “ for four separate wars, and both boys and old
 “ men mustered to complete them. Now they
 “ made no difference between summer and winter, and gave the distressed people no respite.
 “ To crown all their miseries, they now loaded
 “ them with taxes; so that when they returned
 “ with bodies worn out by fatigues, wounds and
 “ old age, and found all their lands uncultivated
 “ by the long absence of their owners, they must
 “ pay tribute out of their ruined estates; and return their pay for military service manifold to the
 “ commonwealth, as if they had only received it
 “ as a loan for which they were to pay interest.” Besides the levies, taxes, and other cares of more importance, which distracted them, the number of tribunes of the people could not be filled up at the comitia^c. Then the patricians caballed to get the vacant places supplied out of their own body. But not being able to obtain this, yet for the sake of in-

^b Glareanus would have it the *fifth* year, reckoning from the beginning of the war with Veii. See book iv. chap. lviii. But as Sigonius very well remarks, the tribunes in this place look no farther back, than to the year 352, in which the barracks were built for the soldiers to winter in. See chap. ii. of this

book, p. 54.

^c The usual number of tribunes of the people chosen yearly was 10. The tribes at this time could not agree in the choice of more than eight; so that there were two places to be filled up by the choice of those eight. See Vol. i. book iii. chap. lxiv. p. 10.

validating the Trebonian law^d, means were fallen on to have C. Lacerius and M. Acutius chosen tribunes of the people by appointment of the other eight, and that no doubt by the influence of the patricians.

CHAP.
X.

IT happened by chance that among the tribunes of the people chosen for that year, there was one named Trebonius, who thought it an obligation he lay under to his name and family, to defend the Trebonian law. He exclaimed “ that the military “ tribunes had extorted what some patricians had “ sued for, but had been repulsed at the first at- “ tempt. The Trebonian law was in effect abrogated, “ and the tribunes of the people elected not by the “ suffrages of plebeians, but by the command of “ patricians : and the matter now come to that pass, “ that the plebeian tribunes were either actually “ patricians, or such as were retained by them : “ the sacred laws were taken away, and the tribunes “ power wrested from them. All these were ow- “ ing to the fraudulent practices of the patri- “ cians, and the wickedness and treachery of his “ colleagues.” As by this means not only the se- nators, but even the tribunes of the people, as well those who were elected, as those who had chosen their colleagues, were exposed to the re- sentment of the people ; three of their college, P. Horatius, M. Metilius, and M. Minucius, a- fraid of losing their interest with the people, made an attack upon Sergius and Virginus, two of the military tribunes for the former year, and by citing them to take their trial, diverted the hatred and resentment of the people from them- selves upon them. They made open proclama- tion, “ that such as groaned under the grievan- “ ces of levies, taxes, a tedious campaign, and “ the prolongation of the war ; they, who la-

CHAP.
XI.

^d Trebonius's law ordained, that the people should chuse all their tribunes together before the comitia broke up. See our author, book iii. chap. lxxv. Vol. i. p. 326.

CHAP.

XI.

mented the fatal defeat at Veii, whose houses
 were in mourning for the loss of their children,
 brothers, kindred and relations; had by their
 means full power and free access to revenge
 the public and their own private misfortunes,
 upon the heads of two criminals, Sergius and
 Virginius, who were the causes of all these
 calamities. Nor did this appear more evident-
 ly from the indictment of their accuser, than
 from their own confession, who, conscious of
 guilt, laid the blame upon each other; for Vir-
 ginius upbraided Sergius with running away, and
 Sergius reproached Virginius with treachery. But
 as it was highly improbable these two could have
 been so distracted, it seemed more likely, that all
 was acted in concert with, and by the common
 fraud of the patricians. With a view to protract
 the war, they had formerly given the Veientes
 an opportunity of setting fire to the Roman
 works; they had lately betrayed the army, and sur-
 rendered the camp to the Falisci; and all for no
 other end, than that the youth might grow grey
 at Veii; that the tribunes might not bring in a
 bill to the people about the partition of lands,
 or any thing else to their advantage; that they
 might not have a sufficient number of citizens to
 support their bills, and to enable them to make
 head against the conspiracy of the patricians.
 Moreover, the senate, the Roman people, and
 even their own colleagues, had beforehand con-
 demned the criminals. For, by a decree of the
 former they had been removed from the public
 administration of affairs; and when they had re-
 fused to quit their office, their colleagues had con-
 strained them to it, by menacing them with
 dictator; and the Roman people had appointed
 new tribunes, who, without waiting the usual day
 the thirteenth of december, should enter upon of-
 fice immediately on the first of october, because the
 republic could not longer have subsisted, if they ha-

“ cont

“ continued in their magistracy. And yet these
 “ men, convicted beforehand, and condemned by so
 “ many judges, came to take their trial before the
 “ people, thinking themselves acquitted, and suf-
 “ ficiently punished, by being reduced to the con-
 “ dition of private persons two months before the
 “ usual time. Nor did they understand, that then
 “ only the power of doing farther mischief was tak-
 “ en from them, but no punishment inflicted; for
 “ their colleagues, who surely were guilty of no of-
 “ fence, had likewise been turned out of office.
 “ Let the Romans therefore resume the same sen-
 “ timents they were of on receiving the late defeat,
 “ when they saw their frightened army flying, all
 “ covered with wounds, and marching in a panic
 “ into their gates, accusing neither fortune, nor a-
 “ ny of the gods, but these two generals. As for
 “ themselves, they were well assured, that every
 “ single person in the assembly that day cursed and
 “ detested the persons, families and fortunes of L.
 “ Virginius, and M. Sergius. And it would then
 “ ill become the people not to use their power,
 “ when they both could and ought, against those
 “ upon whom each of them invoked the vengeance
 “ of the Gods. For the Gods never punished crimi-
 “ nals themselves; it was sufficient that they gave
 “ the injured an opportunity of taking revenge.”

CHAP.
 XI.


THE people, inflamed by these speeches, con-
 demned the criminals in a fine of ten thousand asses
 of brass^a, while Sergius in vain pleaded the com-
 mon chance and fortune of war, and Virginius con-
 jured them not to make him more unhappy at
 home, than he had been in the war. The resent-
 ment of the people being thus turned against these
 two generals, quite cancelled all remembrance of
 the election of tribunes by their own colleagues^b,

CHAP.
 XII.


^a Thirty two pounds, five shillings,
 and nine-pence three farthings. Ar-
 butnot.

^b See the end of chap. x. and be-
 ginning of chap. xi. p. 70, 71.

CHAP.

XII.



and of the treacherous attempt made upon the Trebonian law. The victorious tribunes, to give the people a present reward for their sentence, published the Agrarian law, and forbade collecting the tax; though pay was necessary for so many armies, and their arms were so successful, that the war was like to come to the wished for period without any fighting. For their camp at Veii, which had been taken, was now recovered, and furnished with sufficient forts and guards. The tribunes M. Æmilius and Cæso Fabius commanded there. M. Furius among the Falisci, and Cn. Cornelius in the dominions of Capena, found no enemy in the field. They, therefore, carried off a great booty, burnt the enemy's corn fields and villages, and laid waste their country without either assaulting or besieging their towns. After plundering the lands of the Volsci, they attempted to take Anxur by storm; but as it was situated upon an eminence, they were disappointed, and began to blockade it by surrounding it with a moat and a rampart. The province of the Volsci had fallen by lot to Valerius Potitus. While military affairs were in this situation abroad, an intestine sedition broke out with greater violence, than that which obtained in carrying on the war. And as the tribunes would not suffer the tax to be levied, and no money was remitted to the generals, the soldiers loudly demanded their pay, and the camp had like to have been infected with the same sedition which plagued the city. While the plebeians thus vented their resentment against the patricians, the tribunes of the people said, that now was the time to establish their liberty on a firm foundation, and to transfer the supreme authority from such patricians as Sergius and Virginus, to brave and stout plebeians. But they proceeded no farther, than creating one commoner, P. Licinius Calvus, a military tribune, with consular power, and that, for the sake of asserting their right. All the rest were patricians, P. Mænius, L. Titinius, P. Mælius, L. Furius Medullinus, and L. Publilius Volscus.

Twenty-fourth mil. tribuneship
P. Lic. Calvus, P. Mænius, L. Titinius, P. Mælius, L. Furius Medullinus, and L. Publilius Volscus.
Y. of R. 375.
B. J. C. 397.



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CHAP. XII.
 Volscus. Not only Licinius, who was elected, but even the people themselves were amazed at gaining this grand point. Licinius had never born any public office before, and was only an ancient senator^c, and now far advanced in years. Nor can a sufficient reason be assigned for his being pitched upon first, and as the properest person to fill this honorable station. Some believe he was singled out for this dignity, out of respect to his brother Cn. Cornelius, who had been military tribune the preceding year, and had given triple pay to the soldiers. Others say, that he himself made a seasonable speech, recommending harmony between the two orders of the state, much approved by both patricians and plebeians. The tribunes of the people were so overjoyed at this victory gained in the comitia, that they dropt their opposition to the tax, which had very much embarrassed the state, whereupon it was collected without any difficulty, and the money remitted to the army.

CHAP. XIII.
 IN the country of the Volsci Anxur was soon after retaken by the garison's neglecting their duty on a holiday. This year was remarkable for a cold winter, and the quantity of snow that fell. For the roads were choked up, and the Tyber innavigable. Yet the stores laid in before prevented the price of provisions from rising. And as P. Licinius had, without any caballing against him, received his magistracy with greater joy on the part of the people, than indignation on the part of the senators, so he executed it without offence to either; which inspired the commons with a strong desire of creating military tribunes of their own body at the next ensuing comitia. Only one patrician candidate, M. Veturius, succeeded at the election, and almost all the centuries chose plebeians to fill up the other places of military tribunes with consular power. Their names were M. Pomponius, C. Duilius, Volero Pub-

^c Plebeians had been admitted in-
 to the senate ever since the two hun-
 dred and sixty third year of Rome,
 according to Dionysius, l. vii.

CHAP. lius, Cn. Genucius, and L. Atilius. Whether it
 XIII. was owing to the unwholesomeness of the weather,
 Twenty- which changed suddenly from extreme cold to ex-
 fifth mil. cessive heat, or to some other cause, this severe
 tribuneship winter was succeeded by a summer noxious and pes-
 M. Pompo- tilent to all kinds of animals. As they could neither
 nius, C. Du- find out the cause or cure of the distemper that
 ilius, Vole- raged at that time, the senate ordered the sybil-
 ro Publius, line books to be consulted. And the Duumvirs,
 Cn. Genu- who had the care of performing the sacred rites,
 cius, and L. having spread three beds, with as splendid an appa-
 Atilius. ratus, as the simplicity of these times would allow,
 Y. of R. 356. celebrated a solemn festival for eight days in order
 B. J. C. 396. to appease Apollo, Latona and Diana, Hercules,
 Mercury and Neptune, which was the first insti-
 tution of the Lectisternium^a. This religious cere-
 mony was likewise celebrated by private families.
 Open house was kept through all the city, and eve-
 ry thing brought out into the open air, to be used
 in common, every body, known and unknown,
 and all strangers, were entertained with the greatest
 welcome. Persons at variance, laying aside all ani-
 mosities and processes, kindly and courteously con-
 versed with one another. Prisoners had their chains
 knocked off, and enjoyed their liberty during the
 days of the festival; nay, after it was over, it was
 a point of religion not to confine again those who
 had been set free to assist at the feasts of the gods.
 But manifold were the causes of terror at Veii, since
 they had three united enemies to deal with at once;
 for all on a sudden the Capenates and Falisci, as
 they had done before, came to it's assistance, and
 invested the camp, so that the Romans fought on all
 sides against three armies. But the remembrance of

^a The word is derived from *sternere* to prepare, and *lectus* a bed. The statues of the gods were taken down from their niches, and laid on beds, placed about a table, and covered with magnificent carpets, purple cushions, and hangings of tapestry. Duumviri, Triumviri, and in process

of time Septemviri, named *epulones* presided at these feasts, and eat the meat that was served up before the statues. In the first of the three beds lay Apollo, Diana and Latona in the second Hercules and Mercury and in the third Neptune.

Sergius and Virginius's condemnation proved the strongest incitement to the troops. For being immediately led round by a shorter way from the grand camp, the battalions of which had before stood inactive^b, they fell upon the rear of the Capenates, who had attacked the Roman lines. The battle beginning there struck terror into the Falisci, and they were put to flight in this consternation by a sally seasonably made from the lesser camp. When they were repulsed, the victorious Romans pursued and made a great slaughter of them. Nor was it long before the troops which ravaged the lands of the Capenates, met as it were by chance the remains of this army straggling through the country, and cut them all off. And many of the rear of the Veientes, who retreated to the city, were killed before their gates, that were shut against them, for fear the Romans should enter along with them.

CHAP.
XIII.

THESE were the memorable events of this year. And now the comitia for the election of magistrates approached, about which the patricians were more anxiously solicitous than about the war; for they saw with concern, that the supreme authority was not only shared with the commons, but almost lost to the patricians. They therefore, by concert, prepared persons of the highest quality and character, to stand candidates, and such as the people would be ashamed to set aside. But over and above, as if they had all been candidates, they tried all means, and not only engaged men, but even importuned the very gods, to favor them. For they raised religious scruples about the comitia which had been held the two preceding years; representing, “that the year
“before the rigor of the winter had been intolerable,
“and ushered in by terrible^a celestial prodigies. The
“next indeed they had had no prodigies, but the

CHAP.
XIV.

^b When the same people two years before had beat up Sergius's quarters, and drove him from his encampments. See chap. viii. p. 67.

^a We have chose in this place to read *terribilem* instead of *similem*. Dujatius prefers either *fertilem* or *terribilem* to the common reading.

CHAP.

XIV.



Twenty-sixth mil.
tribuneship
L. Valerius
Potitus, M.
Valerius
Maximus,
M. Furius
Camillus,
L. Furius
Medullinus,
Q. Servilius
Fidenas, and
Q. Sulpicius
Camerinus.
Y. of R. 357.
B. J. C. 395.

“ event of them, a plague both in country and
“ city, which, without doubt, was the effect of the
“ anger of the gods, whom the books of their
“ fates^b had directed them to appease, in order to
“ remove the pestilence. For the gods had decla-
“ red their displeasure, at honors being prostituted,
“ and the distinction of families confounded in co-
“ mitia, held under proper auspices.” Besides the
dignity of the candidates, the people were over-awed
by religion, and therefore chose for military tribunes
with consular power, all patricians, and the greatest
part of these the most honorable of that order.
Their names were L. Valerius Potitus a fifth, M.
Valerius Maximus, M. Furius Camillus a second^c,
L. Furius Medullinus a third, Q. Servilius Fidenas a
second, and Q. Sulpicius Camerinus a second time.
Nothing memorable was performed before Veii, du-
ring their administration; for they committed no o-
ther act of hostility, except employing their forces
in pillaging. The two generals in chief brought
away great booty, Potitus from the Falisci, and
Camillus from the Capenates, sparing nothing that
could be destroyed by fire or sword.

CHAP.

XV.



IN the mean time there were reports that many
prodigies had been seen, but the most part of them
were slighted, or little credited, because supported
only by the testimony of single witnesses, and like-
wise because now they were at war with the Hetru-
rians, they had no soothsayers to explain them. Yet
a particular one engaged the attention of every body.
A lake^a in the grove of Alba, without rain, or any
other

^b The Sybilline books, which were
believed either to contain or foretel
the fate of the city.

^c Many editions read *tertium*, a
third time, but without authority
from the ancients. In particular,
Plutarch says, that the inundation
happened in the Alban lake, during
the second tribunate of Camillus.
His words are, τὸ δεύτερον. See note^a

on chap. i. p. 53.

^a It is the present lake of *Casti
Gandolphe*. Kircher, who measure
and sounded it, says it is about eigh
miles in circumference, unfathomabl
on the north side, and that the deep
est ground he met with lay four hun
dred and eighty-five feet from th
surface of the water. That unfa
thomable part of it, next *Monte Car*

other apparent cause, to shew it was no prodigy, CHAP.
 rose to an uncommon height. Deputies were sent XV.
 humbly to enquire at the oracle of Delphos, what
 the gods presaged by this prodigy. But the fates
 raised up an interpreter nearer home, a certain old
 man at Veii, who amidst the mutual reproaches of
 the Roman and Hetrurian guards and sentries on
 their posts, cried out in an enthusiastic manner,
 “ that the Romans would never become masters of
 “ Veii, till all the water was let out of the Alban
 “ lake.” At first this was slighted as a mere ran-
 dom expression, but soon after begun to be talked
 of more seriously. At length one of the Roman
 sentries asked the next townsman (with whom he
 had made an acquaintance, through the long conti-
 nuance of the war) who that old man was, who had
 used this obscure expression concerning the Alban
 lake. When he heard he was a diviner, being one
 not without a sense of religion, by pretending, that
 he wanted to consult him about explaining a prodi-
 gy which had happened to himself, if he could as-
 sist him in it, decoyed the soothsayer to a private
 conference. Having both gone out to a good distance
 from their own men, without their arms, or the
 least jealousy, the Roman, who was a stout young
 man, caught up the old feeble Veian, in sight of
 both people, and, while the Veientes loudly ex-
 claimed at it, carried him to the Roman camp. He
 was first brought before the general, and then sent
 to Rome to the senate. When they examined him
 on what he had prophesied concerning the Alban
 lake, he answered, “ Surely the gods had been an-
 “ gry with the Veientine nation on that day, when
 “ they had put it into his thoughts to discover the
 “ fatal secret, which would ruin his native country.
 “ But, what he had then uttered by a divine im-
 “ pulse he could not now recal, so as it should still

is commonly swelled by torrents from
 the cavities of the adjacent hills. It
 now empties itself into a subterranean

ous passage dug through the hill for
 that purpose.

“ remain

CHAP.

xv.



“ remain a secret; nay, perhaps, he would have
 “ contracted no less guilt by concealing what the
 “ immortal gods had a mind should be revealed,
 “ than by discovering what ought to have been
 “ concealed. But thus it was recorded in the
 “ books of the fates, and this was a tradition con-
 “ firmed by divination among the Etrurians, that
 “ if, when the Alban lake swelled to an extraordi-
 “ nary height, the Romans, with proper ceremo-
 “ nies, should let all the water out of it, they
 “ should gain the victory over the Veientes. But
 “ till that time, the gods will not abandon the walls
 “ of Veii ^b.” Then he proceeded to inform them
 in what manner the drains to carry off the water
 were to be made. But the fathers thinking his au-
 thority too slight, and not creditable enough to be
 relied on in a matter of so great importance, de-
 creed to wait the return of the deputies from Del-
 phos, with the answer of the Pythian oracle.

CHAP.

xvi.



Twenty-
seventh mil.

tribuneship

L. Julius Iu-

lius, L. Fu-

rius Medul-

linus, L.

Sergius Fi-

denas, A.

Posthumius

Regillensis,

P. Cornelius

Maluginen-

sis, and A.

Manlius.

Y. of R. 358.

B. J. C. 394.

BEFORE the return of the deputies from Del-
 phos, or an expiation of the Alban prodigy was
 found out, new military tribunes with consular pow-
 er entered into office, viz. L. Julius Iulus, L. Furi-
 us Medullinus a fourth time, L. Sergius Fidenas,
 A. Posthumius Regillensis, P. Cornelius Maluginen-
 sis, and A. Manlius. In that year the Tarquinienfes,
 a new enemy, started up. They saw the Romans
 engaged in many wars at the same time with the
 Volsci, who besieged the fort at Anxur; the Æqui
 who invested the Roman colony at Lavicum, and
 besides with the Veientes, Falisci and Capenates
 they likewise saw the Roman affairs within the city
 were no less embarrassed by reason of the contest
 between the patricians and plebeians. Wherefore
 thinking this a fit opportunity to fall on them, they
 sent several light armed cohorts to ravage the Ro-
 man lands. They flattered themselves that the Ro

^b Cicero, Lib. i. de Divin. in his soothsayer, adds some other circum-
 relation of this answer, given by the stances,

mans would either let this injury pass with impunity, for fear of burdening themselves with a new war, or pursue them with an inconsiderable army, which would not be able to dispute the victory with them.

CHAP.

XVI.

The Romans were not so much alarmed at the ravaging of their lands by the Tarquinienſes, as they reſented the baſeneſs of the action. Therefore they did not make great preparations to puniſh them, nor did they long defer taking their revenge. A. Poſthumius and L. Julius, being hindered by the tribunes from making a levy in form, got together an army of volunteers, which they had engaged by their perſuaſions, and fetching a compaſs through the country of Cære, ſurprized the Tarquinienſes on their return from pillaging, and loaden with ſpoil. They killed many of their men, and ſtript them all of their baggage; and having recovered the plunder of their lands, returned to Rome. The owners had two days time allowed them to pick out their own effects. On the third what was not owned, the greateſt part of which belonged to the enemy, was put up to public ſale, and the price of it divided among the ſoldiers. But the ſucceſs of the other wars, eſpecially that at Veii, was uncertain. And the Romans, now deſpairing of human help, relied ſolely on the fates and Gods. This was the ſituation of their affairs when the deputies returned from Delphos, with the answer of that oracle, which agreed exactly with what the captive diviner had foretold. It was this, “ Romans, “ take care not to let the water remain in the Alban “ lake; take care not to let it run into the ſea in one “ continued ſtream. Let it out and water the land “ with it; carry it off by many ſmall drains, till it in- “ ſenſibly loſe itſelf in the ground. Then boldly attack “ the walls of Veii, mindful that theſe very fates, whoſe “ decrees are now revealed, give you the victory over “ a city, which you have beſieged for ſo many years. “ When the war is ended, and you are conquerors, “ bring a large preſent to my temples, and take care to “ re-eſtabliſh the religious inſtitutions of your country, “ with the uſual ceremonies which have been neglected.”

CHAP.
XVII.

THIS gained the captive soothsayer great reputation, and two of the military tribunes, Cornelius and Posthumus, begun to make use of him, in order to expiate the Alban prodigy, and appease the Gods in due form. At length, likewise, they found out, that what the Gods accused them with in regard to neglect of ceremonies, and the omission of solemn yearly festivals, was nothing else, than a defect in the election of magistrates, and that the festival in honor of Jupiter Latialis^a, and the sacrifice on mount Alba, had not been celebrated in a proper manner. These omissions could only be expiated by the military tribunes abdicating their office, the auspices being repeated anew, and the government returning to an interregnum. All which things were accordingly done by a decree of the senate; and three persons, L. Valerius, Q. Servilius Fidenas, and M. Furius Camillus, successively performed the office of interrex. In the mean time there were continual disturbances; for the tribunes of the people opposed assembling the comitia, till they first obtained a promise, that the greater part of the military tribunes should be chosen out of the commons. During these

^a Dionysius Hal. book iv. says that Tarquin the proud, in order to perpetuate the memory of the league made in his time between the Romans and Latines, instituted a yearly solemn festival called *Latinar*, to be held on mount Alba, which stood almost in the centre of the Latine states, in honor of Jupiter Latialis. At this mountain therefore, all the Latine and neighbouring states, to the number of forty-seven, who were included in the league, convened and feasted together. Each people were to bring a determinate quantity of provisions for this end. Some were appointed to bring a number of lambs, some to bring cheese, or milk, or a quantity of other sorts of victuals. A bull was slain as a common sacrifice for them all, and each had a fixed portion of the flesh and entrails assigned them. Solemn proclamation was made of this festival by the Ro-

man consuls, and other supreme magistrates, who, together with the magistrates of the Latine states, had the direction and execution of the different parts of the ceremony. If any thing was amiss in these sacrifices, as, if all the Latines did not receive their portion of the flesh and entrails, or any necessary ceremony was omitted, the festival behoved to be set about anew. By Tarquin's institution, this festival continued on one day; but a second was added when Sp. Cassius the consul made league with the Latines, not long after the expulsion of the kings; third by the senate, upon making a league with those states, upon the reconciliation between the nobility and commons after Sicinius's secession from the sacred mount. See our author book ii. chap. xxxiii. vol. i. p. 111 and a fourth was afterwards added which will be seen in our next book.

transactions, the states of Hetruria met in a general diet at the temple of Voltumna, where the Capenates and Falisci demanded that all the lucumonies of Hetruria should with one resolution and consent raise the siege of Veii. But they were answered by the diet, "That they had formerly refused aid to the Veientes, because it was unreasonable they should ask it from them, whom they had not advised with before they undertook an affair of so great importance. But, at present, the state of their own affairs would not allow them to send relief thither. This in particular was the case of that part of Hetruria bordering upon the Gauls, a strange nation lately settled on their frontier, with whom they had no assurance of lasting peace, though as yet no certain prospect of war. Yet, on account of their relation and name, they would so far shew regard to the present danger of their kinsmen, as not to hinder such of their youth, as pleased, from going volunteers to that war." This occasioned a report at Rome, that a great number of enemies were advancing. And it had this good effect, that a concern for the public danger begun to allay their intestine broils.

CHAP.
XVII.

P. Licinius Calvus was by the prerogative tribe chosen military tribune, without suing for it, and even without opposition from the patricians. They had experienced this plebeian's moderation in his former tribunate^a, and he was now very old. Besides it appeared that his colleagues would be chosen out of those who had served the same year with, or the year immediately after him^b, viz. L. Titinius, P. Mænius, P. Mælius, Cn. Genucius, and L. Attilius. But after the rest of the tribes were called in

CHAP.
XVIII.

^a See before chap. xii. p. 74.

^b If we will look back to chapter xii, we shall see, that only three of Licinius's former colleagues are in the present list, L. Titinius, P. Mænius, and P. Mælius, and in room of the other two, L. Furius Medullinus, and L. Publilius Volscus, are inserted, Cn. Genucius and L. Attilius, who were military tribunes the year after, as may be seen in chap. xiii. so that we thought it necessary to add in the text these words, *or the year immediately after him.*

CHAP.

XVIII.

due order ^c, and before the candidates were declared duly elected, P. Licinius Calvus, with the permission of the interrex, thus addressed the assembly,

“ I perceive, Romans, that, in remembrance of our former magistracy, you have a mind, as an omen of harmony, which is more especially necessary in the present situation of our affairs, to re-elect for next year my colleagues in the military tribunate, whom experience has rendered better qualified to be at the head of your affairs. But as for myself I am not the same man I was then, and you see nothing left but the shadow and name of P. Licinius. My bodily strength is decayed, my eyes dim, my hearing dull, my memory fails, and the vigor of my mind is blunted. Lo here, says he, (holding his son by the hand) is a youth, the image and picture of that Licinius, whom you formerly chose as the first military tribune from among the plebeians. This son, whose manners I have carefully formed after my own principles, I give and devote to the republic in my stead. And I beseech you, Romans, to confer this honor, which of your own accord you offer unto me, upon him at his own request, and the earnest solicitations his father adds in his behalf.” His desire was granted, and his son P. Licinius was declared military tribune with consular power in conjunction with those whom we have mentioned above ^d. Titinius and Genucius, two of the military tribunes, went on an expedition against the Falisc and Capenates, and acting therein with greater bravery than precaution, fell inconsiderately into an ambushade. Genucius wiped off the stain of hi

Twenty-eight military trib.

P. Licinius,
L. Titinius,
P. Mænius,
P. Mælius,
Cn. Genucius, and L. Atilius.

Y. of R. 359.

B. J. C. 393.

^c Before the commons proceeded to vote any matter in the comitia, the century, upon whom it fell by lot, voted first, and was called *centuria prærogativa*, the rest following in the order of their *classes*. After the constitution of the five and thirty tribes, into which the *classes* and *centuries* were divided, in the first place the

tribes cast lots, which should be the *prærogative tribe*, and then the century of that *tribe* for the honor of being the *centuria prærogativa*. All the other tribes had the appellation *jure vocatæ*, because they were called out to vote in their proper places.

^d In the beginning of this chap.

rashne

rashness by an honorable death ; for he fell before the ensigns, fighting bravely at the head of his troops. Titinius rallied his men after they had recovered from their fright, and having gained an eminence, drew them again up in order of battle. But he did not offer to face the enemy on fair ground. The disgrace was greater than the loss they sustained. Yet the Romans had like to have suffered much by it. For the report of this battle, being much exaggerated, not only occasioned a terrible alarm at Rome, but likewise in the army before Veii. For a report having spread over all the camp there, that the victorious Capenates and Falisci, after having cut off the Roman troops with both their generals, were not far off with all the Hetrurian youth, it was with difficulty they could be kept from flying. There was still greater confusion at Rome ; for it was believed there, that the camp at Veii was already attacked, and part of the enemy in full march to attack the city. The citizens ran to the ramparts, and the ladies, whose fears for the state had driven in troops out of their houses, offered up supplications in the temples, and earnestly implored the Gods, that if the Romans had by proper rites renewed the neglected religious ceremonies, and expiated the prodigies, they would protect the temples, houses and walls of Rome from destruction, and turn all the present terror against Veii.

CHAP.

XVIII.

BY this time the games and the feriæ Latinæ were renewed, the waters let out of the Alban lake into the fields, and the destruction of Veii was at hand. Camillus, destined by the fates to destroy that city, and save his native country, was nominated dictator, and appointed P. Cornelius Scipio general of the horse. This change of the general immediately changed the face of all their affairs. The hope and courage of the Romans, and even the fortune of Rome seemed quite altered. In the first place he put the military laws in execution, with the

CHAP.

XIX.

M. Furius
Camillus
dictator, P.
Cornelius
Scipio gene-
ral of the
horse.

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XIX.

utmost rigor, against those who, through fear, had abandoned the camp at Veii, and thereby taught the troops, that it was not the enemy they ought chiefly to be afraid of. Having fixed a day for the levies, he in the mean time rode post to Veii, in order to revive the courage of the troops there. After this he returned to raise a new army at Rome, where none refused to enlist themselves. Even foreigners, the Latine and Hernician youth, came from their own country, and offered to serve under him in that war, for which he thanked them in full senate. When every thing was ready for taking the field, the dictator, by order of the senate, made a vow to celebrate the great games ^a, when Veii should be taken; and to rebuild and dedicate anew the temple of the goddess Matuta ^b, which had formerly been dedicated by king Servius Tullius. Then he marched his army from the city, though he thereby engaged the attention, more than encouraged the hopes of the people, and first advanced against the Falisci and Capenates in the country of Nepet ^c. Fortune, as usual, seconded the prudence and good conduct he shewed in every step he took there. For he not only routed the enemy in battle, but took their camp, where he got a vast booty, the greatest part of which he remitted to the questor, giving but little to his troops. Then he marched his army to Veii, where he increased the number of the little forts on the lines. And having issued a proclamation against fighting without orders, he reclaimed the soldiers from skirmishing, as they often rashly did, between the wall of the town and their camp,

^a Romulus first instituted them. They were those of the circus, and called *great*, either because they were consecrated to the three great deities Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva; or because of the great expence and pomp wherewith they were celebrated.

^b Matuta, or *Ino*, was wife of Athamas, son of Æolus, and king of Thebes. She was daughter of Cadmus, aunt of Bacchus, sister of Se-

mete, and mother of Melicerta. The Greeks called her, *Λευκοθεα*, the Latines, *Matuta*. She is called by the Ancients *Aurora*. See Ovid. *Metam.* 3. *Fast.* book vi. She was worshipped by matrons, who, according to Plutarch, in *quæst. Roman.* n. 17. presented only their sister's children, not their own to her.

^c This town lay in Hetruria, and is now called Nepi.

and employed them in useful works. Then he began the most important and laborious work of all, which was to carry a mine into the enemy's citadel. And that it might meet with no intermission, or tire the same persons with continual labor under ground, he divided the pioneers into six different companies, each of which in it's turn was to work six hours at a time. By this means the work was never interrupted night nor day, till a passage under ground was opened into the citadel.

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WHEN the dictator saw himself on the point of gaining the victory, and so wealthy a city ready to fall into his hands, in which greater spoil would be got, than had been taken in all the preceding wars put together, to avoid, on the one hand, the resentment of his troops for giving them a less share of the booty than they might expect, and, on the other, incurring the displeasure of the patricians by being too liberal and profuse, he wrote to the senate, desiring to know “ their mind about disposing of the booty ;
“ seeing, by the favor of the immortal Gods, his
“ prudent conduct, and the patience of the soldiers,
“ Veii would soon be in the possession of the Romans.” The senate was divided into two opinions. The one was that of old P. Licinius, who, being asked first by his son ^a, answered, that proclamation should be openly made to the people, “ that
“ such as were willing to share in the spoil, might
“ repair to Veii.” The other was that of Appius Claudius, who, railing against this unprecedented, profuse, unjust, and impolitic largess, said, “ that
“ if it was reckoned an injustice to bring the money
“ taken from the enemy into the publick treasury,
“ which had been emptied by the war, he was of
“ opinion, the soldiers ought at least to be paid
“ out of it, and thereby the commons eased of part

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^a Young Licinius, as being first haps, he gave the precedence to his military tribune, was president of the father ; or, it may be, this old man's senate, and asked the opinions of the years entitled him to that honor. fathers. Out of filial regard, per-

CHAP. XX. of their taxes. Every Roman family would then
 “ be equally sensible of the benefit of this largess;
 “ and the rapacious hands of those, who loitered in
 “ Rome, would not rob the brave soldiers of their
 “ rewards. For it commonly happened, that he,
 “ who uses to be most forward to share the toil and
 “ danger, is the least active in plundering.” To
 this Licinius replied, “ that that money, if brought
 “ into the treasury, would lay a foundation for jea-
 “ lousy and ill-will, supply matter of accusations be-
 “ fore the people, furnish pretexts for raising sediti-
 “ ons, and, at length, for bringing in new laws. It
 “ was, therefore, better, to gain their affection by
 “ this bounty : thereby to give some relief to those,
 “ who were exhausted and drained by a tax continu-
 “ ed for so many years; and to let them taste the
 “ fruits of that war, wherein they had almost grown
 “ old. What each of them should take with his own
 “ hand from the enemy, and bring home, would
 “ give greater satisfaction and pleasure, than a hun-
 “ dred-fold more bestowed by another. The dictator
 “ himself would hereby escape odium and a prosecu-
 “ tion, the sole view he had in referring the matter
 “ to the senate. Therefore they, in like manner, ought
 “ to leave it to the people, and suffer each man to
 “ have what the fortune of war gave him.” This ad-
 vice, as it was like to make the senate popular,
 seemed to be the safest of the two. An edict accord-
 ingly was issued out, “ that such as pleased should
 “ repair to the dictator in the camp, to share in the
 “ plunder of Veii.”

CHAP. XXI. THE great numbers that flocked thither, quite
 filled the camp. The dictator, after having taken
 the auspices, and ordered his troops to arm, stepped
 forward, and made the following prayer. “ O Py-
 “ thian Apollo, under thy guidance, and by thy
 “ inspiration, I am going to destroy the city of
 “ Veii; and to thee I solemnly vow a tenth part of
 “ the spoil thereof. At the same time I implore
 thee,

“ thee, O Juno ^a, queen of the Gods, who now re-
 “ fideft in Veii, to follow us the victors to our city,
 “ which will soon be thine, and where thou shalt be
 “ received into a temple worthy of thy majesty.”

When he had finished these prayers, as his army was very numerous, he made a general assault on all sides of the city, that the besieged might have the less apprehension of any danger from the mine. The Veientes knew not that they were betrayed by their own diviners ^b, and foreign oracles ^c; that some of their tutelary Gods invited to partake of their spoils, and others conjured by prayers to leave their city for another, had their eyes fixed on the temples of their enemies, which were to be their new habitations, and that their last hour was come. Therefore, fearing nothing less, than that their walls were undermined, and their citadel full of enemies, they ran in emulation of each other to the ramparts in arms, wondering what had induced the Romans, who had not moved from their posts for so many days, at that time to assault their walls so rashly, as if they had been struck with a sudden phrenzy. A story is inserted in this part of the history, that as the king of Veii was sacrificing, the Roman soldiers heard the haruspex say, “ that
 “ the victory should be given to him, who should
 “ dissect the entrails of that victim;” and immediately opening the mine, seized the entrails, and carried them to the dictator. But in things of so ancient date, I hold it sufficient to take probabilities for truths. Nor is it worth while either to warrant or refute such things as are fitter to be exhibited on the stage, that delights in the mar-

^a Pagan superstition supposed when two nations were at war, that their tutelary Gods became parties in it, and espoused the interest of their own people. The contending nations therefore not only courted the favor of their own Gods, but of those of their enemies, and these they invited to leave the enemy by formal prayers,

promising them a gracious reception among themselves.

^b The old Veientine soothsayer, who had instructed the Romans in the manner of letting the water out of the Alban lake. See above chap. xv. p. 79.

^c The oracle at Delphos. See the end of chap. xvi. p. 81.

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vellous, than deserving of credit. A chosen body of armed men, who at that time filled the mine, rose up in the temple of Juno, which stood in the citadel of Veii. Some attacked the soldiers behind as they defended the walls; some unbarred the gates, while others set fire to the houses, as the women and slaves threw stones and tiles down from the house-tops upon them. The whole city resounded with the shouts of the invaders, and cries of the invaded, mingled with the doleful lamentations of the women and children. In an instant the walls being cleared of those who defended them, and the gates broke open, part of the Roman army entered in whole battalions, others scaled the deserted ramparts, so that the city was soon filled with enemies, and the battle raged in every place. However after great havoc it began to slacken, and the dictator commanded the heralds to proclaim quarter to all who laid down their arms. This put an end to the slaughter. Then began the unarmed multitude to surrender themselves, and the soldiers, with the dictator's permission, ran up and down to plunder. When the spoils were placed before Camillus, and he saw how far they exceeded his hopes and expectations in quantity and value, he is said to have lifted up his hands to heaven, and prayed, "that if the good fortune of the Roman people appeared too great either to Gods or men, the envy might fall upon him, and the commonwealth of Rome feel as small a share of it as possible." And the tradition is, that, as he was turning round after this prayer, he fell down upon the ground. Which accident was construed by some, after the thing really happened, to presage the condemnation of this very Camillus, and the destruction of Rome, when it was taken by the Gauls, both which fell out a few years after. Thus that day was spent in slaughtering the enemy, and plundering that most wealthy city.

NEXT

NEXT day the dictator sold the freemen by auction. The money arising from their sale was all that was applied to the benefit of the public, and even this the people resented. As to what spoil they brought back with them, they thought themselves indebted for it, neither to the dictator, who, with a view to make the senate the abettors of his own scandalous parsimony, had referred an affair to them, which was wholly in his own power; nor to the senate, but to the family of the Licinii, a son whereof had laid the matter before the senate, and his father made a motion so favorable to the people. After they had carried out of Veii all the profane riches, they began to remove what had been consecrated to the Gods, and the Gods themselves, but rather like worshippers than pillagers. The handsomest young men in all the army were pitched upon, who, after purifying their bodies, and putting on white robes, had it in charge to carry the statue of queen Juno to Rome. They entered her temple with great veneration, and at first laid their hands upon the statue with a religious awe, for it was customary among the Etrurians, not to let that statue be touched by any but a priest of a certain family. At length, either by inspiration, or out of joke, one of them said, "Juno, will you go to Rome?" Upon which the rest cried out, that she gave a nod of consent. But to this some add the story of her having been heard answering "she would go." However, it is certain, that it was no difficult matter to move her from her place, and that she was carried to Rome with as great ease, and as little fatigue, as if she had followed the bearers. The statue was brought safe to mount Aventine, the habitation to which the Roman dictator by prayers had invited her, and where she ever after remained. In this place likewise Camillus afterwards dedicated that temple, which he had vowed to her. Such was the fate of Veii, the richest city of all the Etrurian nation. Even its final ruin is a proof of its great-

CHAP. greatneſs ; for after ſuſtaining a continued ſiege for
XXII. ten ſummers, and as many winters, wherein Rome
had ſuffered more from it, than it had done from
Rome, it was at laſt, by unavoidable deſtiny, taken,
not by aſſault, but by ſap.

CHAP. WHEN the news, that Veii was taken, reach-
XXIII. ed Rome, notwithstanding the prodigies had been
expiated, the reſponſes of the diviners and of the
Pythian oracle were well known, and, as the great-
eſt help human counſel could afford, they had cho-
ſen the greateſt of generals, M. Furius, commander
in chief ; yet, becauſe the ſucceſs of the war, which was
continued for ſo many years, had taken various turns,
and they had often been defeated, it occaſioned in-
credible joy, as if it had been contrary to all expecta-
tion. The Roman ladies, by running in crowds to
the temples to return thanks to the Gods, anticipa-
ted the ſenate's decree, which ordained a ſolemn ſup-
plication and thankſgiving for four days, a greater
number than had ever been appointed in any former
war^a. Never was any general before attended by
ſuch multitudes of people at his arrival ; for all ranks
and conditions ran in crowds to meet him. Nay the
magnificence of that day's triumph far exceeded
what was uſual on ſuch occaſions. He himſelf was
more eſpecially conſpicious ; for he entered the city
in a chariot drawn by four white horſes, which was
reckoned an ambitious exaltation of himſelf, not
only above the condition of a citizen, but even of
human nature. They conſidered it as an act of impi-
ety for the dictator to be drawn by an equal number
of horſes and of the ſame color with thoſe of Jupiter
and the ſun ; and this circumſtance alone, though it
added greatly to the ſplendor of his triumph, made
it leſs grateful to the ſpectators. After this he drew

^a At the firſt inſtitution of ſuppli-
cations they were appointed to conti-
nue only for one day, then two, and
afterwards to many more. That de-
creed for Pompey's ending the Mi-
thridatic war, laſted twelve ; and Cæ-

ſar's for the Gallic war, fifteen. In
proceſs of time, Panſa and Cæſar
Octavianus, after the battle of Mo-
dena, had a thankſgiving decreed for
fifty.

the plan of the temple of queen Juno on the Aventine hill, and dedicated that of the goddess Matuta. And having thus performed his duty to the Gods, and done such signal service to his fellow citizens, he abdicated his dictatorship. Then they began to deliberate about the present to be made to Apollo. Camillus represented, that he had vowed a tenth part of the spoils to the God, and the priests were of opinion, that the people ought to perform that vow. But it was not easy to fall on a method to make them restore the spoil, that that part of it due to the Gods might be taken out of it. At length they fixed upon what seemed to be the easiest expedient. They passed a decree, “ that whoever were willing
“ to clear their consciences, and ensure the safety of
“ their families, should first make a just estimate of
“ the spoil they had got, and then bring a tenth
“ part of it into the public treasury ; that it might
“ be formed into a present of massy gold, worthy
“ the august temple and majesty of the God, for
“ whom it was intended, and suitable to the grandeur of the Roman people.” This contribution likewise alienated the people’s affections from Camillus. In the mean time ambassadors came from the Volsci to sue for peace, which was granted, not so much because the petitioners deserved it, as to procure the state some respite after being harassed with so long a war.

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XXIII.

VELI being thus subdued, six military tribunes with consular power were created for the ensuing year ; the two Publii Cornelii, Cossus and Scipio, M. Valerius Maximus a second, Cæso Fabius Ambustus a third, L. Furius Medullinus a fifth, and Q. Servilius a third time. The war with the Falisci fell by lot to the Cornelii, as did that with the Capenates to Valerius and Servilius, who did not attempt to take their cities by storm, nor by raising works against them. They only ravaged their lands, and carried off a great booty of instruments of husbandry,

CHAP.
XXIV.

Twenty-ninth mil. tribuneship Publii Cornelii, Cossus and Scipio, M. Valerius Maximus, Cæso Fabius Ambustus, L. Furius Medullinus, and Q. Servilius.
Y. of R. 360.
B.J.C. 392.

CHAP. bandry, leaving no fruit-tree or any standing corn in
xxiv. the country. This severe treatment humbled the

Capenates; for they sued for peace, and it was granted them. But the war with the Falisci was continued. In the mean time there were many seditions at Rome, to appease which a decree passed for sending a colony into the country of the Volsci, for which three thousand Roman citizens were enrolled. The three commissioners, who had the care of this affair, gave each planter three acres of land, and seven twelfth parts of an acre^a. But that largess began to be despised by the people, because they imagined it to be only a bait offered them to divert them from hoping for better. For why should they be removed to the Volscan dominions, when Veii, and the lands belonging to it, which were both more fertile and more extensive than those of Rome, were in view. They likewise preferred this city to Rome, both for it's situation, and the beauty and grandeur of it's private and public buildings and houses. Moreover a motion was made, which was more warmly pursued after the taking of Rome by the Gauls, of removing to Veii. For it was intended, that part of the people, and part of the senate, should go to inhabit Veii, and that the two cities should be possessed by Romans, and constitute but one commonwealth. But this the nobility opposed so strenuously, that they said, “ they would die sooner in fight of
“ the Roman people, than suffer such a bill to be
“ brought in. If there is so much dissention in one
“ city, what will there be in two? Would any one
“ prefer the conquered to the conquering city, or
“ make the captive town of Veii a more flourishing
“ place than it had been before it was taken? Last-
“ ly, their fellow citizens might abandon them in
“ their native country, but nothing should ever
“ force them to relinquish it and them, or to for-
“ sake the God Romulus, the son of a God, the

^a The Romans commonly divided integers into twelve parts, which they

“ father and founder of Rome, and follow Sicinius CHAP.
“ to Veii.” For it was this tribune of the people XXIV.
who had proposed the bill.

WHILE they were wrangling about this in a CHAP.
most shameful manner (for the fathers had brought XXV.
over some of the tribunes of the people to their side) nothing else restrained the commons from giving blows, but that whenever a shout was set up as a signal to fall on, the principal senators first presented themselves to the mob, bidding them “ assault, strike
“ and kill them.” But as a respect to age, and the honor and dignity of those venerable men kept them from doing them violence, so being ashamed of their resentment, they forbore other attempts of the like kind. Camillus likewise went from place to place, haranguing the people, and said, “ that he was not
“ indeed surprized at that city’s being seized with a
“ kind of madness ; seeing, notwithstanding it’s be-
“ ing charged with a vow, it preferred every other
“ concern to a conscientious performance thereof.
“ He would not mention the contribution, which
“ had more the appearance of an alms given to
“ the God than a tenth, for, as each man had pri-
“ vately bound himself to discharge that, the body
“ of the people were now freed from it. Yet
“ his conscience would not suffer him to be silent
“ on another point, which was, that the tenth of
“ the moveables was only set apart for the God ;
“ but no mention made of the city and adjacent
“ lands that were taken, which were likewise compre-
“ hended in his vow.” As the senate found them-
selves embarrassed by this nice distinction, the mat-
ter was referred to the college of priests, who in con-
cert with Camillus gave judgment, “ that a tenth
“ part of whatever had belonged to the Veientes
“ before his vow, and after it had come into the
“ possession of the Romans, was sacred to Apollo.”
In consequence of this an estimate was taken of
the city and lands of Veii. The money was paid
before-

beforehand out of the public treasury, and the military tribunes with consular power were ordered to purchase gold with it^a. But as there was not gold enough to be had in Rome, the ladies, having held frequent meetings to consult of that affair, made a promise with mutual consent to the military tribunes, and in consequence thereof carried their gold and all their jewels into the treasury. No act of generosity ever gave the senate greater pleasure, and, in return to it, it is said, they granted the ladies the honor of being carried to the sacrifices in covered chariots^b, and in open coaches^c, on festival and working days. The gold being received from each of them, was weighed, in order to return them the value in money; and then it was thought fit to make a golden cup, to be carried to Delphos as a present to Apollo. No sooner was this vow discharged, than the tribunes of the people renewed their seditions. The multitude were exasperated against all the principal men of the state, but especially against Camillus, alleging, that by what he had appropriated to the state^d, and consecrated to the Gods, he had reduced the spoil of Veii to nothing. They bitterly exclaimed against the nobility in their absence, but shame restrained them from offering any insult when they were present, and exposed themselves to their fury. Now when they saw that the affair of removing to Veii was not like to be determined that year, they re-elected the same men, who had brought in the bill for that purpose, to be tribunes of the people for the ensuing year, and the senators used all their interest to do the same by those who had opposed it. Thus were the same tribunes for the most part re-chosen.

^a The Romans then had none but copper money.

^b The Pilentum seems to have been a covered carriage, hung after the manner of our coaches. The car-pentum was more open, and pretty much like our waggons. But after all, the difference between them cannot be ascertained, and pilentum and

carpentum are used synonymously by historians.

^c See note preceding.

^d We see before chap. xxii. p. 91 that the price of the prisoners who were sold by auction, was carried to the treasury of the state, and became part of the public funds.

IN the comitia for electing military tribunes, the patricians used their utmost efforts to get Camillus chosen one, and gained their point. They pretended, that they were hereby preparing an able general for the wars, but in reality wanted him to oppose the largest the tribunes contended for. His colleagues in this military tribuneship with consular power, were L. Furius Medullinus a sixth time, C. Æmilius, L. Valerius Poplicola, Sp. Posthumius, and P. Cornelius a second time. In the beginning of the year the tribunes of the people did not stir, till Camillus, who was commissioned to carry on the war against the Falisci, should march on that expedition. In the meantime the affair quite languished under after delays, while their most formidable adversary, Camillus, reaped additional laurels among the Falisci. For, while at first the enemy thought it safest to keep within their walls, he, by laying waste their lands, and setting fire to their villages, obliged them to march out of their city. But their fear would not suffer them to go far, so they encamped within a mile of their town, relying on no other security, than the difficulty the enemy must surmount in coming at them through rough, craggy ways, and in marching through defiles and over steep rocks, with which they were surrounded. But Camillus took a prisoner out of the country for a guide, and decamping in the dead of night, at day-break shewed himself on a ground, that lay a little above them. While the Romans entrenched themselves in three divisions, part of their army stood under arms, ready to engage. And when the enemy endeavoured to obstruct his work, he routed and put them to flight. The fright of the Falisci was so great, that as they fled in great disorder, they passed by their camp, which was in their way, and ran with great precipitation to their town. Many were killed and many wounded, before these frightened troops could get within their gates. He took their camp, and sent the spoil to the public treasury, which highly incensed the soldiers. But

CHAP. XXVI.
Thirtieth mil. trib.
M. Furius Camillus, L. Furius Medullinus, C. Æmilius, L. Valerius Poplicola, Sp. Posthumius, and P. Cornelius.
Y. of R. 361.
B. J. C. 391.

CHAP. forced to submit to the severity of his discipline, they
 XXVI. at the same time hated and admired the abilities of
 their general. Then he invested the city, and surrounded it with lines. The townsmen sometimes, when occasion offered, sallied out, and had slight skirmishes with the Roman guards; and thus they spent the time, with equal hopes of success on either side. For the besieged had greater plenty of corn and other provisions, which they had laid in beforehand, than the besiegers. And in all probability this siege would have proved as long as that of Veii, if fortune, and a signal instance of his abilities and experience in military affairs, had not soon put the victory into the hands of the Roman general.

CHAP. THE Falisci used to make the same person both
 XXVII. tutor and companion to their children. and to place
 many boys at the same time under the care of one master, a custom retained among the Greeks at this day. As is most usual, the man who had the greatest reputation for knowledge taught the children of the principal men. This tutor made a practice of carrying his pupils, in time of peace, to play and exercise themselves before the town. He did not discontinue it during this war, sometimes carrying them a little, sometimes a greater way from the walls. But at length, having found a proper opportunity, he drew them, by play, and many different stories, farther than usual from the gates; first as far as the Roman outguards, and then to the camp, till at last he led them quite to Camillus's tent. To this villainous action, he added a speech more criminal, for he told Camillus, "that by delivering into his hands those boys, whose fathers had the principal authority in Falerii, he had in effect put him in possession of that city." Camillus heard him to an end and then replied, "Wretch, thou hast not come with thy impious present, to a people or general like thyself. We have not indeed alliance with the Falisci by hu-
 " man

“ man treaty; but what nature has established, CHAP.
 “ still subsists, and shall subsist between us. War XXVII.
 “ has it's rights, as well as peace; and we have
 “ learned to carry it on with no less justice than
 “ bravery. We are in arms, but will not use them
 “ against an age, which is spared even at sacking of
 “ cities; but against armed men, those very men,
 “ who, without any injury, or provocation from us,
 “ attacked the Roman camp at Veii. Thou, as far as
 “ lay in thy power, hast outdone them by an unpre-
 “ cedented act of villainy. But I will conquer, as I
 “ did at Veii, by arts peculiar to the Romans, valour,
 “ military works and arms.” Then he ordered him to
 be stript, and his hands bound behind his back, and
 in this condition to be delivered to the boys to be
 carried back to Falerii, giving them rods, where-
 with they might whip the traitor all the way to that
 city. At first the Falisci flocked in great crowds to
 see this spectacle, and then their magistrates called
 the senate to deliberate on this strange affair. And it
 worked so great a change on their minds, that they,
 who a little before were so inflamed with hatred and
 resentment, that they would rather have chose the
 fate of the Veientes, than to make peace like the
 Capenates, were unanimously for demanding an ac-
 commodation with the Romans. Nothing was heard
 in their forum or senate-house, but the highest en-
 comiums on the faith of the Romans, and the pro-
 bity of their general. And by universal consent depu-
 ties were dispatched into the camp to him, and by his
 permission to the senate at Rome, to surrender Fale-
 rii. It is reported, that when they were introduced
 to the senate, they made the following speech.
 “ Conscript fathers, conquered by you and your
 “ general, a conquest which neither can offend
 “ Gods nor men, we surrender ourselves to you,
 “ convinced, that we shall live happier under your
 “ government, than under our own laws; which
 “ of all other considerations derives the greatest ho-
 “ nor upon the conqueror. Mankind have two ex-
 cellent

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“cellent examples set them in the issue of the pre-
 “sent war. You have preferred integrity in war to im-
 “mediate conquest; and we have been willingly en-
 “couraged by this instance of your integrity to yield
 “you the victory. We are now your subjects, send per-
 “sons to receive our arms, hostages, nay, our very
 “city, the gates whereof stand open to you. You shall
 “never have reason to complain of our fidelity, nor
 “we to repent of our having subjected ourselves to
 “you.” Camillus had the thanks both of the enemy
 and his fellow-citizens. To relieve the people from
 taxes, the Falisci were ordered to give the soldiers one
 year’s pay. Peace was granted them on this condi-
 tion, and the army returned home.

CHAP.
XXVIII.

CAMILLUS’s return to Rome, after having
 signalized his justice and integrity in the conquest of
 the enemy, was celebrated with more solid applau-
 ses, than his former entrance into it, when he was
 drawn, in pompous triumph, by white horses. For
 the senate publicly took notice of his modest beha-
 vior, and, in order to discharge his vow, without
 any delay, sent three deputies, L. Valerius, L. Ser-
 gius, and A. Manlius, to carry a golden cup to Del-
 phos as a present to Apollo. The long galley, in
 which they embarked, was taken not far from the
 Sicilian sea, by Liparenian pyrates, and by them
 carried into Liparæ^a. It was the custom of that ci-
 ty, to divide their prizes as so many public cap-
 tures. By good luck one Timasitheus, a man more
 resembling Romans, than his own countrymen, was
 principal magistrate of that city that year. He, aw-
 ed by respect for the character of the ambassadors
 the present itself, and the motive of it’s being offer-
 ed, as well as the God to whom it was sending
 inspired likewise the multitude, who generally are
 the mind of their leaders, with the same sentimen-

^a The most considerable of the Æolian islands, lying between Italy and Sicily. It is said to have had it’s name from Liparus, son of Aus-
 who reigned in this island. Pl
 iii. 9.

of justice and religion. After having publicly entertained the deputies, he himself convoyed them to Delphos, and then re-conducted them safe to Rome. By a decree of the senate, the state entered into a league of amity with him, and he had great presents made him at the public expence. In the same year the war with the Æqui took such various turns, that neither the army itself, nor those at Rome, could tell, whether they had conquered, or been defeated. The military tribunes, who commanded, were C. Æmilius, and Spurius Posthumius. At first they acted in conjunction, but when they had defeated the enemy in a pitched battle, Æmilius thought fit to go to Verrugo to garison it, and Posthumius marched to lay waste the enemy's country. The late success made the latter careless, so that the Æqui set upon his troops as they marched in disorder, struck great terror into them, and drove them to the adjacent hills, which they passed in consternation; and the fright reached even the other garison at Verrugo. When Posthumius had got his troops into a place of safety, he assembled them, and chid them severely for the fright that had seized them, which had occasioned their being routed by, and obliged to fly before a most cowardly enemy. The whole army cried out, that they deserved to be told of it, and confessed they had committed a great fault; but they would make amends for it, and that the enemy should not long triumph on account of it. They earnestly insisted that he should that instant lead them against the enemy's camp, which stood in a plain within sight, and they said they would suffer any punishment, if they did not take it before night. After the general had commended them, he ordered them to refresh themselves, and be ready by the fourth watch. The enemy likewise who were guarding the way to Verrugo, in order to prevent such Romans as were on the hills from escaping thither by night, met them, and the battle began before day break; but as the moon shone all night, they could see how to fight, as well as if it had

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been day. But the shouts of the armies reaching Verugo, the troops there thought the Roman camp had been assaulted, and notwithstanding all the endeavours and entreaties of Æmilius to stop them, dispersed and fled to Tusculum. From thence a report reached Rome, that Posthumius with his army had been cut off. But as soon as it was light, and safe to pursue a flying enemy full speed, without fear of falling into an ambuscade, he rode through the ranks, and put them in mind of their promise, which inspired them with such ardor, that the Æqui were no longer able to stand before them. The slaughter of the enemy, that was made in the pursuit, proceeded rather from resentment than bravery, insomuch that they were quite cut to pieces. And immediately on the back of the sad news from Tusculum, which, without reason, had put the city into such a consternation, letters, wrap'd up in laurel, came from Posthumius, with intelligence “ that the Romans “ had got the victory, and the army of the Æqui “ was quite destroyed.”

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BECAUSE the tribunes of the people had not yet succeeded in their bill for removing to Veii, the people resolved to continue those men in the tribunate, who had proposed it, as the fathers to their utmost endeavored to do those, who had opposed it. However, the commons prevailed in the comitia. To be revenged for this disappointment, the senate pass a decree for the election of consuls, magistrates, who were odious to the people. Thus fifteen years after the discontinuance of this office, L. Lucretius Flavius, and Servius Sulpicius Camerinus, were raised to the consulate. In the beginning of this year, the tribunes of the people fiercely renewed their instances for passing the law, because they had not one opponent in their college, for the same reason the consuls opposed them with vigor; and while the whole city minded nothing else, the Æqui made themselves masters of the

Vitellian

L. Lucretius Flavius,
Servius Sulpicius Camerinus,
consul.

T. of R. 362.
B. H. C. 310.

Vitellian colony, which had been planted in their country. But the greatest part of the planters, as the city was taken by treachery in the night, escaped safe out at the back-part of the town, and fled to Rome. That province fell by lot to the consul L. Lucretius, who marching out his army defeated the enemy in the field, and returned to Rome to fight a fiercer battle. Two of the tribunes of the people for the preceding year, A. Virginius and Q. Pomponius, were cited to take their trial. The honor of the senate engaged the whole patricians to defend them. None could accuse them of any crime, either in their lives, or the discharge of their office, excepting that they had, to gratify the patricians, opposed the bill brought in by their colleagues. But the resentment of the commons baffled all the interest the senate could make, and, a bad precedent sure, these innocent men were fined ten thousand asses of brass^a. This highly offended the fathers. Camillus openly accused the people of injustice. “The commons have now, said he, declared against their own protectors. They don’t understand that by this unjust sentence they have put an end to the intercession of tribunes, and by that means abolished the power of these magistrates. For however they might hope that the fathers would suffer the unbridled licentiousness of the plebeian tribunes, they were mistaken; and if the influence of the tribunes could not be repelled by the intercession of some of their own number, the patricians would find another weapon against them.” He likewise rebuked the consuls, for having tamely suffered those two tribunes, who had obeyed the authority of the senate, to be disappointed in relying on the public faith. By these public harangues, he daily increased the people’s resentment against himself more and more.

^a Thirty-two pounds, five shillings, and nine-pence three farthings. Arabathnot.

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YET he never ceased to excite the senate against the bill ; conjuring them “ not to go down into the forum, on the day when the law should be proposed, otherwise than as men prepared to fight for their altars and fire-sides, for the temples of their Gods, and the soil wherein they were born. As to his own private concern in the affair, if he was at liberty to consult his own glory amidst this struggle for his country, it would even be much for his honor, that a town, which he had taken, should be peopled with inhabitants ; where he would daily see monuments of his glory, and that city, which had been carried before him in his triumph, and where all would tread upon the traces of his renowned victory. But he believed it impious to re-people a town, which had been deserted and abandoned by the immortal Gods. It would be shameful for the Roman people to inhabit a captive soil, and exchange their victorious country for a conquered one.” Both the old and young patricians, roused by these warm exhortations which Camillus made to the principal men amongst them, came in a body to the forum that day on which the law was proposed, and dispersing themselves through the tribes, each addressed the men of their own tribe, and begun to beg them with tears, “ not to abandon a country for which their fathers and themselves had fought with so much bravery and success. They pointed to the capitol, the temple of Vesta, and other temples of the Gods round it. They conjured them not to banish and drive the Roman people like exiles, from their native soil and household Gods, into an enemy’s city ; not to bring the matter to this pass, as to oblige them to think, had been better Veii had never been taken, than Rome might not have been abandoned.” As the patricians used no force, but prayers, wherein they made frequent mention of their Gods, they raised

for

scruple of conscience in the breasts of the greatest part of the people, and the tribes who rejected the law, had a majority of one against those who voted for it. The fathers were so overjoyed at this victory, that the next day, upon a motion made by the consuls, the senate passed a decree, that seven acres of the lands of Veii should be divided to each commoner. Nor did this grant extend only to masters of families, but to every single person of free condition, as an inducement to them to marry, and bring up children.

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THIS largess softened the minds of the commons so, that no opposition was made to holding the comitia for the election of consuls. L. Valerius Potitus and M. Manlius, who was afterwards surnamed Capitolinus, were elected to bear that office. They celebrated the great games, which M. Furius had vowed in the Veientine war. In the same year was dedicated the temple of Juno, queen of the Gods, which this dictator had vowed at the same time. It is reported, that the ladies attended in great numbers at this dedication. The Romans had a slight engagement with the Æqui at Algidum; for the enemy were routed almost before they joined battle. A triumph was decreed to Valerius, because he had pursued farther, and killed a greater number of the enemy than Manlius, who was ordered to enter the city with an ovation. In the same year a new war broke out with the Volfinienses^a, against whom, no army could be led, on account of a famine and pestilence in the Roman dominions, occasioned by a dry and excessive hot season. This raised the presumption of the Volfinienses so much, that, in conjunction with the Salpinates^b, they made an incursion upon the Roman

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L. Valerius
Potitus, and
M. Manli-
us, consuls.
Y. of R. 363.
B. J. C. 389.

^a The Volfinienses inhabited a considerable city of Hetruria, called by Strabo and Ptolomy Volfinium. It was the capitol of one of the twelve Lucumonies of that nation. It stood near a lake of the same name, where Bologna now stands. Pliny, book

xxxvi, says, grinding-mills were first invented and used in this city.

^b There are no traces of Salpinum, which they inhabited, now remaining. Yet it is probable from this war, that it was then a powerful state,

lands,

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lands, without any provocation. Then war was declared against both these states. C. Julius the Censor died, in whose room L. Cornelius was chosen; a thing afterwards reckoned fatal, because Rome was taken in that lustrum. Nor from this time, was any one ever substituted in place of a censor who happened to die. The consuls likewise falling sick, it was thought fit to have an interregnum, and during it to renew the auspices for another election. Therefore when the consuls had abdicated their office by a decree of the senate, M. Furius Camillus was created interrex, and he nominated P. Cornelius Scipio his successor. Then that office fell to L. Valerius Potitus, who created six military tribunes with consular power; that in case some of them should be seized with sickness, the republic might not want a sufficient number of magistrates.

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XXXII.

Thirty-first
mil. trib.
L. Lucreti-
us, Servius
Sulpicius,
M. Æmili-
us, L. Furi-
us Medulli-
nus, Agrip-
pa Furius,
and C. Æ-
milius.
Y of R. 364.
B. J. C. 388.

ON the first of July, L. Lucretius, Servius Sulpicius, M. Æmilius, L. Furius Medullinus a seventh, Agrippa Furius and C. Æmilius a second time, entered into the office of military tribunes. The province of the Volfinienfes fell by lot to two of them, L. Lucretius and C. Æmilius; as did that of the Salpinates to other two, Agrippa Furius and Servius Sulpicius. The first battle they fought was with the Volfinienfes, and it was more remarkable for the number of the enemy, than for the resistance they made; for they were routed and fled at the first onset, and eight thousand armed men, being surrounded by the Roman cavalry, laid down their arms, and surrendered at discretion. The news of this battle terrified the Salpinates from coming to an engagement. Their soldiers took refuge within their walls, while the Romans every where pillaged both the Volfinian and Salpinatian lands without any opposition. At length a truce for twenty years was granted to the Volfinienfes, who were grown weary of the war, on condition, that they should



should restore to the Romans the booty they had carried away, and give their soldiers one year's pay. In the same year, M. Cædicius, a plebeian, told the tribunes, "that he had heard a voice, louder than a man's, in the new-street^a, above the temple of Vesta, where now stands a chapel, which commanded him, to tell the magistrates that the Gauls drew near." However, as commonly happens, this story was neglected on account of the meanness of it's author, and also because that nation was at a great distance, and consequently little known. But as the fates hurried the Romans to their destruction, they did not only despise the advices of the Gods, but even the only human help they had at the same time by banishing M. Furius from the city. This great man having had a day appointed, by L. Apuleius, tribune of the people, to take his trial, in relation to the spoils of Veii, and having lost at the same time his son, a promising youth, assembled, in his own house, his kindred and clients, who comprehended a great part of the people, and founded their inclinations. When they answered, that they could not acquit him, but would pay the fine he should be condemned in, he went into banishment, begging of the immortal Gods, "that, in case he was innocent and injured, they might soon make that ungrateful city regret the loss of him." He was fined in his absence in fifteen thousand asses of brass^b.



THUS was a citizen banished, who, had he staid, if there can be any certain dependance on human aid, Rome could not have been taken. What hastened the fatal stroke, was that deputies came from Clusium, imploring assistance against the Gauls.

^a On account of this miraculous and forewarning voice, an altar was erected in New-street to a divinity called *Aius Locutius*. Cicero, in his second book of *Divination*, chap. lxi. speaks of him thus. *What then? Aius uttered oracles, and spoke when*

none knew him. But became dumb, when he got an altar, a place of abode, and was worshipped as a god. Varro, Gell. xvi, mentions both the altar, and the kind of worship paid to him.
^b 48l. 8s. 9d. according to Arbuthnot.

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The report is, that that nation, charmed with the delicious taste of the fruits, especially with the wines of Italy, which they had never tasted before, passed the Alps, and took possession of lands before inhabited by the Hetrurians; and that Arunx, a Clusinian, in resentment of his wife's being debauched by Lucumo, who had been his pupil, and upon whom, because of his great interest, he could not get a just punishment inflicted, without calling in a foreign enemy, carried wine into Gaul, to entice that nation to make that invasion^a. This man is said to have guided the Gauls in their passage over the Alps, and to have advised them to lay siege to Clusium. I will not indeed deny, that the Gauls were conducted to Clusium by Arunx, or some other Clusinian; but it is sufficiently certain, that those who invested Clusium were not the first who passed the Alps. For the Gauls had come over into Italy two hundred years before they at this time besieged Clusium, or took Rome: nor did the Gallic troops fight first with the Hetrurians, for they had often engaged long before with those people who inhabited the country between the Apennines and Alps. For before the Roman empire, the Tuscan^b dominions extended very far both by sea and land, even to the upper and lower sea, by which Italy is surrounded in form of an island. Their very names are an argument of the mighty power of this people; for the nations of Italy call the one the Tuscan sea, from the common name of the people; and the other the Adriatic, from Adria, a Tuscan colony. The Greeks call them the Tyrrhenian and Adriatic seas. This people in twelve cities inhabited the country extending to both seas, and by sending out colonies equal in number to their mother cities, first on this side the Apennines towards the lower sea, and afterwards

^a Pliny book xii. chap. i. gives this account of the matter; that one Elicon, from Swisserland, went to Rome, and staid some time there. When he returned home, he gave his

countrymen some dry figs, raisins, oil and wine, which he had brought out of Italy.

^b The Hetrurians were likewise called Tuscans.

as many on the other side, possessed all the country beyond the Po, even to the Alps, excepting the corner belonging to the Venetians, who dwelt round a bay of the sea. Nor can it be questioned, that this was the original of the Alpine nations, especially of the Rhetæ, who, by the situation of their country are grown so barbarous, that they retain nothing of their original, but some remains of their language, and even that is corrupted.

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BUT here is what I have learned of the Gauls passage over the Alps. In the reign of Tarquinius Priscus at Rome, the Bituriges^a had the supreme authority among the Celtæ, who possessed one third part of Gaul^b, and gave them a king called Ambigatus. He was a very powerful prince, both on account of his bravery, private fortune, and flourishing kingdom. For under his government Gaul produced such plenty of corn and inhabitants, that it seemed scarce possible to govern such a multitude. Being himself grown old, and desiring to disburthen his dominions of this troublesom crowd, he signified to Bellovesus and Sigovefus, his Sister's sons, young men of great activity, that he resolved to send them into whatever settlements the Gods should grant them by augury. They might raise what number of men they pleased, that no nation, wherever they came, might be able to repel them. Upon this the

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Account of
the Gauls
first passage
over the
Alps.

^a They inhabited the canton of Berry, which lay in the centre of the Celtic Gaul, lying between the Seine, Loire and Garonne.

^b Gaul was anciently divided into three parts. The first reached from the British ocean to the Seine, and was called by the Romans *Gallia Belgica*. It was bounded on the north by the British channel; to the west by the rivers Seine and Marne; to the east by the Rhine, and to the south by Switzerland and Burgundy. These boundaries were varied by the arbitrary divisions of Gaul by the Roman emperors, and occasioned all that difference about the limits of the

three parts of it among ancient geographers, Ptolomy, Orosius, Mela, Pliny and Strabo. The second called *Gallia Celtica*, comprehended the country between the Seine, the Loire, and the Garonne, as far as the Alps. The third, called *Gallia Aquitania*, contained all the tract of land between the Garonne, Pyrenees, and the ocean. It was a maritime country, bounded on the south by the mediterranean, and to the west by the ocean. It was very extensive; for from the Garonne, or from Bourdeaux to the extremity of the Pyrenees, is computed to be thirty-four leagues.

Hercinian

CHAP. XXXIV. Hercinian forest ^c fell by lot to Sigovesus; but the Gods gave a far pleasanter journey into Italy to Bellovesus. He assembled the Bituriges, Avernians ^d, Senones ^e, Heduans ^f, Ambarri ^g, Carnutes ^h and Aulerci ⁱ, because these cantons were overstocked with people, and marching out with a great army of foot and horse, came to the country of the Tricastini ^k. They were soon after stopped by the Alps, which seemed to them impassable; nor am I surprized at it, since it cannot be proved by authentic records, that they had ever been passed by any, unless we give credit to the stories concerning Hercules. While the Gauls were hemmed in this place, as it were by the height of these mountains; and were looking round them for a way to pass into another world over hills, whose tops joined to the Heavens, they were diverted from immediately prosecuting their design, by a religious scruple; for having received intelligence that a strange people, the Massilians, who had sailed from Phoea^l to these coasts in quest of a settlement, were opposed by

^c Mela gives this forest an immense length, extending it from the Rhine to that part of Muscovy anciently Sarmates. Julius Cæsar says, it was nine days journey over. It began on the confines of Alsace and Switzerland, and extended all along the Danube to Transylvania, where it winded about to the left, leaving the river, and passed through many different nations. Comment. book vi. chap. xxv. It has long since been entirely grubbed up, excepting a small part now called the black forest. Sigovesus settled in a canton of Germany, ever since called Bohemia, from the word Boii, the greatest part of his followers being of that Celtic nation which was so named.

^d They inhabited Auvergne, now *Clermont*, a bishoprick in *Aquitain*.

^e Their capital city was *Sens*, and they possessed that part of Gaul which lies between *Paris* and *Meaux*, now called *Saintonge*.

^f Inhabiting a canton of the *Auxunois*, which is part of *Burgundy*.

^g Vigenerus says, that they inhabited *Charlots* in *Burgundy*.

^h Part of the inhabitants of *Beauce* and *Orleanois*. Their capital was the present *Chartres*, a large city on the river *Eure*.

ⁱ They inhabited the cantons of *Perche* and *Maine* in *Normandy*. The *Cænomani* were the most considerable people among them. See note ^a on *Cænomani*, p. 111.

^k It is part of *Dauphine*, and lies on the left side of the *Rhone*. Its capital city is *Saint Pol Trois-chateaux*.

^l It was in *Asia Minor*, and was inhabited by a colony of Athenians, who being besieged by Harpagus, lieutenant general to Cyrus, king of Persia, left their city to the mercy of the enemy, and embarked with all their effects. They landed on the island of *Corfica*, and from thence sailed to the coasts of *Provence*, where they founded the city of *Marseilles*. They took an oath at leaving their city, never more to return to their own country; which gave rise to the pro-

pro-

by the Salyes ^a, they considered their success as a happy omen of their own; and therefore helped them to fortify a city in the place, where they first landed, surrounded by spacious woods. Upon this they marched over the pathless Alps by the Taurinian forest ^o. And having defeated an army of Hetrurians, near the river Ticin ^p, when they heard that the country where they were encamped was called Insubria ^q, a name likewise given to a Heduan canton ^r, they complied with this favorable omen, and built a city, which they called Mediolanum ^s.

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AFTER that another body of Cœnomani ^a, under the command of Elitovius ^b, and assisted by Bellovesus, followed the tracks of the former, and after they had passed the Alps, settled in those places which the Lebui ^c then possessed, where now stand the cities of Brescia ^d and Verona ^e. After them came the Salluvii, who dwelt near the ancient nation

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proverb *φαναίων ὄρα*, signifying an execrable oath.

^a They dwelt on the sea-coast of *Provence*, according to Ptolomy, where now stand the cities of *Aix*, *Arles* and *Tarascon*.

^o It stood at the foot of the *Alpes Cottiae*. The Gauls passed between the mountains *Genevre* and *Cenis*.

^p This river rises by mount *St. Geddard* in *Switzerland*, and running through the *Milanese*, after mixing with the lake *Major*, runs by the walls of *Milan* and *Pavia*, and then falls into the *Po*.

^q The modern *Milanese* was then called *Insubria*.

^r We have at present no traces left of the *Insubres*, who inhabited this canton. But from what our author says, we may conjecture they inhabited part of *Burgundy*, viz. *Mutun*.

^s The great city of *Milan*.

^a They extended themselves from the mouth of the *Seine* to that of the *Loire*. Our author in the preceding chapter, and *Julius Cæsar*, *Comment. Book v.* calls them *Aulerci*. *Jul. Cæsar* likewise gives this name to another people in the territory of *Evroux*, between *Rennes* and the country of *Quimpercorentin*; and to another, which *Pliny* and *Ptolomy* place

in *Bretagne*, lying on the side of the *Vannes*, and more to the westward.

These authors give the names of *Aulerci Eburvices* and *Aulerci Diablintes* to these two nations. This agreement, in the same name, of three nations reaching from the mouth of the *Loire* to the mouth of the *Seine*, leads us to conclude, that they were all one body, of which the *Cœnomani* were the most considerable part. See note ^c, p. 110.

^b This was a common name among the Gauls, and some have conjectured that the name of *Levins* was originally derived from it.

^c We must not confound, as *G. Merula* has done, this people with the *Lebecii* mentioned by *Polybius*. For they possessed the present *Bresciani*, *Cremouese*, and *Mantua*.

^d Now also called *Bresse*, as well as *Brescia*, in the territories of *Venice*.

^e A most noted city, and the largest in all *Lombardy*. It lies between *Ferrara* and *Trent*, and is watered by that river which the Germans call *Esch*, but the Italians *l'Adige*. The poet *Catullus* was born in this city. It is said to have been first called *Brenona*, from the name of *Brennus*, general of the Gauls.

CHAP. of the Lævi^f and Ligures^g, and settled about the
 xxxv. river Ticin. Then the Boians^h and Lingonesⁱ,
 came over the Pennines^k, and taking possession of
 all the countries, between the Alps and the Po,
 passed that river in boats, and not only beat the He-
 trurians, but even the Umbrians^l out of the coun-
 try. Nevertheless they confined themselves within
 the Apennines. Then the Senones^m, the last of
 all the new comers, possessed themselves of the
 country reaching from the river Utensⁿ to Æsis^o.
 I find that it was this nation which came to Clusium,
 and then to Rome; but it is not certain, whether
 they came alone, or assisted by all the nations of the
 Cisalpine Gaul. The Clusinians were quite terrified
 at this war, when they saw the great number and
 uncommon size of the enemy, and what sort of arms
 they used, and likewise when they heard of the de-
 feat of the Hetrurian army, by the Gauls on this and
 the other side of the Po; and though they had no
 title to the alliance and friendship of the Romans,

^f They inhabited a canton near that of the Libici, on the side of Provence. These two nations were likewise neighbours in Italy, where they seized the country of *Novarra*, on the north side of the *Po*. Pliny, book iii. says the Lævi founded *Pavia*, now *Il Pavese*.

^g They had this name from the Latin word *Liger*, the *Loire*, on the banks of which they dwelt.

^h They inhabited the country bordering on *Burgundy*, *Nivernois*, *Auvergne* and *Berry*; which province is now called the *Bourbonois*. They are not to be confounded with the Boii, who inhabited *Buck* in *Aquitain*, near the ocean. They settled between *Bologna* and *Ravenna*.

ⁱ They dwelt to the east of the river *Marne*, bordering upon *Autun*, *Franche Comte* and *Lorrain*. They settled more to the north than the Boii, at the mouth of the *Po*.

^k The *Penninæ Alpes* reach from mount *St. Bernard* to mount *St. Godard* towards the heads of the *Rhone*, the *Rbine*, and the *Ticin*. They comprehend the country of the *Valais*

and *Sion*, and in *Piedmont* the *Val d'Aosta*, and the *valley of Andorno*. Some think they were called *Pennine* from *Pæni*, Carthaginians, who passed these mountains under the command of *Hannibal*. But our author, book xxi. derives this name from the God *Penninus*.

^l The country of the Umbrians, at that time, was bounded to the west by a line drawn from the present river *Montone* to the heads of the *Tyber*; and from thence to the conflux of the *Nar* with this last river, was it's boundary on the south; to the east by the middle of the river *Fiumesino*; and to the north by the *Adriatic* sea.

^m The Senones new settlement was bounded to the west by the river *Montone*, and to the east by the *Fiumesino*; but geographers say nothing of it's boundaries to the south and north. But it is probable they were at first enclosed by the *Apennines* and the *Adriatic* sea.

ⁿ Now *Montone*.

^o Now *Fiumesino*.

except

except not having assisted their kinsmen the Veientes against them, they sent deputies to Rome, to beg aid from the senate. However they obtained none; but the three sons of Ambustus, M. Fabii, were sent ambassadors to treat with the Gauls, in name of the Roman people, and represent, “ that they ought not to attack the allies and friends of the Romans, who had done them no injury, and in whose defence they were ready to take up arms if it should be necessary. But they thought it better to prevent it, if possible; and that the Gauls, who were but a new settled nation, ought to make themselves known rather by peaceable measures, than the force of arms.”

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THIS was a modest embassy, but the ambassadors were too haughty, and behaved more like Gauls than Romans. After they had delivered their instructions in a council of the Gauls, they received the following answer. “ That although the Roman name was new to them, yet they believed they were brave men, because the Clusians had implored their aid in their present extremity. And seeing they chose rather to defend their allies against them by an embassy than by arms, they would not despise the peace which the Romans offered, on condition that the Clusians, who possessed more land than they cultivated, would yield part of their territories to their neighbours who wanted it. And these were the only terms on which peace could be obtained. They added, that they desired to receive their answer in presence of the Roman ambassadors; and if the land was denied, to fight before them, that they might tell at home, how far the Gauls excelled all other men in valor.” When the ambassadors asked, what right they had to demand land of the possessors, how they came to threaten them with war, or what they had to do in Etruria?” they sternly answered, “ that they carried their right on the point of their swords, and brave men had a title to every

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“ thing.” Upon which both sides exasperated ran to their arms, and begun the battle. And as the fate took this opportunity to hasten the destruction of Rome, it’s ambassadors had also recourse to their arms, in direct contradiction to the law of nations. Nor could this be concealed, seeing it was easy to observe three persons of the greatest note and valor of all the Roman youth fighting at the head of the Clusian troops; so eminently did the bravery of these strangers distinguish them from the rest of the army. Besides, Q Fabius advanced on horseback before the first line, and meeting a general of the Gauls, who was rushing furiously upon the foremost of the Hetrurians, run him through the side with his lance, and killed him. Some of the Gauls knew him as he stripped his enemy, and notice was immediately given through their whole army, that it was one of the Roman ambassadors. Laying aside, therefore, their resentment against the Clusians, they immediately sounded a retreat, threatening destruction to the Romans. Some of them were of opinion, that they ought that instant to march to Rome. But the aged among them carried it for first sending ambassadors to complain of the wrong, and to require that the Fabii should be delivered up to them according to the law of nations, which they had violated. When the deputies of the Gauls had discharged their commission, the senate were dissatisfied with what the Fabii had done, and saw, that the barbarians demanded nothing but justice. But private interest and caballing prevented their passing the sentence they thought reasonable upon three persons of such distinction. Therefore, that the misfortunes which might chance to attend a war with the Gauls, might not be charged upon them, they referred the consideration of their demands to the people. But the power and interest of the delinquents had such influence upon the commons, that, instead of being punished, they were created military tribunes for the next year. The Gauls, resenting this action as they ought returned home, openly threatening to make war up

the Romans. Q. Sulpicius Longus, Q. Servilius a fourth time, and Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis, were created military tribunes, together with the three Fabii.

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BY this means a terrible storm of misery was like to fall upon the Romans, but fortune so blinds the minds of men, in order to prevent their warding off her impending blows, that this state, which had on many former occasions had recourse to it's last resort, and created a dictator against the Fidenates, Veientes, and other neighbouring nations, was at no pains to appoint any extraordinary magistrate, or seek assistance, now when a strange and unknown enemy from the ocean, and the utmost borders of the earth, came to make war upon it. Even those tribunes, whose rashness had drawn this war upon Rome, had the sole management of affairs there. They, lessening the reports they had of the war, made the levies with no more care, than they used to do in cases of ordinary importance. In the mean time the Gauls, as soon as they heard that those who had violated the law of nations were promoted to honors, and their embassy flighted, being exceedingly enraged, as that people is very passionate, immediately plucked up their ensigns, and begun their march with all expedition. When during their march they observed the affrighted cities running to their arms, and the peasants flying, they called out aloud, that they were going to Rome. And wherever they went, their men and horse, dispersed far and wide, covered a great space of ground. Their expeditious march, the news whereof fame and couriers from Clusium, and other states, had carried to Rome, occasioned a great consternation there. And the Romans hastily leading out their army, levied in a hurry, found difficulty to meet them eleven miles from the city, where the river Allia^a, rising out of the mountains of Crustumium, runs in a

Thirty-second mil. trib. Q. Sulpicius Longus, Q. Servilius, and Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis, and M. Fabii.
Y. of R. 365.
B. J. C. 387.

^a Geographers say it was the same little brook which runs about one mile from *Monte Rotundo*, and five miles above *Marcigliano Vecchio*, and which is now called *Rio di Messo*.

CHAP. very deep channel, till it falls into the Tyber, a lit-
 XXXVII. tle below the Salarian highway. And now the plain
 before and round them was covered with enemies, and the Gauls, a nation given to clamor and tumult, by their barbarous songs and various shouts, filled all places about with a horrible noise.

CHAP. HERE the military tribunes, without having the
 XXXVIII. precaution to mark out a camp, or fortify it with an entrenchment, to which they might retreat, and neglecting the Gods as much as they did men, without having any encouragement from the auspices or sacrifices, drew up their army in battalia, extending the wings, that they might not be surrounded by the superior number of their enemies. But though they weakened their center, and made it's files almost quite open by thinning it's ranks, yet they could not after all make it equal that of the enemy. There was a small rising ground on their right, where they thought fit to post a body of reserve, which, as it was the first occasion of their fear and flight, was the only means of securing their retreat. For Brennus, who commanded the Gauls, fearing that the Romans, being inferior in numbers, were laying a trap for him, and imagining their design of seizing this eminence was, that the body of reserve, as soon as his men should be engaged with the legions van to van, might attack him both in rear and flank, advanced and charged this corps first. He made no question, if he should once beat them from this post, but his troops, who were so far superior in numbers, would easily get the victory in the plain. Thus we see that there was not only good fortune, but prudent conduct on the side of the barbarians. In the other army none acted like Romans, neither officers nor soldiers. Their minds were wholly possessed with fear, and the thoughts of running away; nay, they forgot themselves so much, that the greater part of them, thought by that means they had the Tyber to cross, fled rather to Veii, an enemy's city, than straight to Rome.

to their wives and children. By advantage of the ground CHAP. the corps-de-reserve defended themselves for a short XXXVIII. time. But as soon as the rest of the army heard the shouts of the Gauls, which they who were nearest imagined to come from their flank, and the furthest to have been raised behind them, they fled, entire and untouched, before that unknown enemy whom they had scarce seen, not only without striking a stroke, but even, without returning the shout. So that none of them fell in the battle; but in the rout where the crowd and hurry of the fugitives obstructed the flight, those in the rear were cut in pieces. A great slaughter was also made on the banks of the Tyber, whither the left wing fled, after having thrown away their arms. And many, who could not, or were not able to swim, weighed down by their brigantines and other armor, were drowned in the stream. Yet the greater part escaped safe to Veii, from whence they not only sent no relief to Rome, but not so much as a messenger to inform them of their defeat. The right wing, which was at a good distance from the river, and posted nearer the hill, marched all to Rome, and took refuge in the citadel, without so much as shutting the gates of the town after them ^a.

THE Gauls also were astonished at their success, CHAP. and imputed this sudden victory to a kind of miracle. XXXIX. At first they stood like statues in amaze, as if they had not known what had happened; then they dreaded an ambuscade, and at last began to strip the dead, and, according to their custom, to pile up the arms. But after all seeing no appearance of the enemy, they began their march, and reached Rome a little before sunset. When the horse which had been detached before brought back word, that the gates were not shut, and no guards posted be-

^a This memorable battle was fought on the fifteenth of the kalends of August, i. e. according to our computation, the eighteenth day of July. This day had before been fatal to the Fabii at Cremera, and was ever after reckoned among the unlucky days. These they called *Dies atri*, *black days*, because they were marked with black letters.

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fore them, nor any armed men on the walls, being no less astonished than they had been before, they halted; and fearing the night and the situation of the city, which they were unacquainted with, encamped between Rome and the Anio, sending out scouts round the walls and the rest of the gates, to get intelligence of what measures the Romans resolved to take in their present extremity. The Romans, as the greater part of their army had gone to Veii, believed, that none survived the battle, but those who had fled back to Rome, and bewailing equally the loss of the dead and living, filled all the city with their lamentations. But when they were told that the enemy was arrived, their fear for the public safety made them forget their private losses. Soon after they heard the howlings and hideous songs of the barbarians wandering in troops round the city walls. During all that time, even till day-break next morning, they were in the greatest suspense. For sometimes they apprehended that the enemy would storm the city upon their first approach to it. And they said, if this had not been the Gauls intention, they would have staid at Allia. At sunset they thought, that because little of the day remained, they would attack them under night; and that they had delayed the execution of their design till that time, on purpose to strike the greater terror. Last of all, the approach of day put them in the greatest consternation, and their continual fears had no intermission till the evil they apprehended came upon them, and they saw the enemy's ensigns enter their gates. Yet during that night and the following day, those that were in the city did not behave like those who had fled in such consternation at Allia. For when they despaired of being able to defend their city with the handful of men that was left, they resolved that the youth, which were fit to bear arms, and the flower of the senate, should retire into the citadel and capitol with their wives and children: and after carrying arms and provisions thither, defend the temples of the Gods, their fellow-citizens,
and

and the Roman name under the covert of that fortified place. They also resolved to put the priest of Romulus, the priestesses of Vesta, and the sacred things, without the reach of fire and sword, and not to discontinue the worship of the Gods, while any remained to perform it. For they thought that if the citadel and capitol, the habitations of their Gods, the senate, which was their high council of state, and the youth of a fit age to bear arms, should survive this imminent ruin of their city, they could easily bear the loss of the old men, who should be left in the town, because they were a set of people that must soon die however. And that those of inferior rank might bear this with more patience, the old men, who had been honored with triumphs, and gone through consulships, openly declared, that “ they would die with them ; and not suffer those bodies of theirs, which were incapable of bearing arms, and defending their native country, to lye a heavy burthen upon the armed men, in their present scarcity of provisions.”

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THUS did those venerable men, destined to death, console each other. Then they addressed their exhortations to their young men, whom they followed into the citadel and capitol, “ recommending to their bravery and youthful vigor, all that remained of the fortune of a city, which had been victorious in all the wars she had undertaken for three hundred and sixty^a years.” When those, who carried with them all the hope and resource of their captive state, took their leave of the rest who were determined not to survive the ruin thereof, as their misfortunes considered in themselves made a most dismal appearance, so the doleful lamentations of the women, running up and down, sometimes after the one, sometimes after the other, and asking both their husbands and sons, “ whose fate they would share,” shewed that their calamity

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^a Our author here computes from the first war Romulus entered into, and not from the foundation of the city.

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was raised to the highest pitch that could befall human nature. Yet a great many followed their relations into the citadel, without being asked or forbid by any one; for though it would have been a great advantage to the besieged to have been freed from that useless number, yet it seemed cruel to shut them out. The remaining multitude, consisting chiefly of the populace, whom this little hill was not able to receive, and who could not possibly be fed in so great a scarcity of provisions, left the city in crowds, and took their way in a body towards Janiculum. From thence they dispersed themselves part about the country, and part into the neighbouring cities, without a leader, or forming any measures in concert, but as each was directed by his own views, because their common concern in the state was given up for lost. In the mean time the priest of Romulus and the vestal virgins, laying aside all care of their private concerns, were consulting together what sacred things they should carry with them, and what they should leave behind, seeing they were not able to carry all away; and in what place what should be left could be most safely deposited. At last they concluded it best to pack them up in small casks, and bury them in a chapel, next to the house of the priest of Romulus^b, where now it is not accounted lawful to spit. They divided what was to be carried away amongst them, and each with their proper burden took the road leading over the bridge Sublicius to Janiculum. L. Albinus, a plebeian, who, in the crowd of those who left the city, as being of no use in the war, was driving his wife and children in a waggon, spying the vestals on the ascent of that hill, even in that time of calamity made a difference between things human and divine; wherefore deeming it irreligious that he and his family should be seen in a carriage, when the public priests of the Roman people walked on foot, carrying the sacred things, he ordered his wife and children to alight, and having

^b Plutarch says they were deposited under the temple of Quirinus, and that the place was thence called *Do-*

liola, from the casks they were packed up in.

placed the vestals with their sacred burdens in the waggon, drove them to Cære, whither they intended to go. CHAP.
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IN the mean time every thing for the defence of the citadel being disposed in the best manner the present circumstances of Rome would permit, the crowd of old men returned to their houses, and waited the coming of the enemy with a firm resolution to die. Such of them as had born curule magistracies^a, that they might die adorned with the ensigns of their former dignity, honors, and gallant exploits, dressed themselves in their most magnificent robes which they used to wear in the processions of their Gods^b, and in their triumphs, and seated themselves in their ivory chairs, in the middle of their halls^c. But some authors say, that these venerable men first devoted themselves for the preservation of their native country and of the Romans by a vow, which M. Fabius the pontifex Maximus administered in form. The Gauls, as they had the space of a whole night to cool the rage which possessed their minds in the late action, and as the Romans had never made a vigorous resistance, nor even then put them to the necessity of taking their city by assault or storm, entered it next day, without any signs of violent passion or resentment, at the Colline gate, and moved on to the forum; casting their eyes on all sides to the temples of the Gods, and the citadel, which alone made any shew of defence. Then posting a small guard, to prevent any attack from the citadel or capitol, while they were scattered, they dispersed themselves to plunder, and as they found the streets empty, and met not a single person, whole troops rushed into the adjoin-

^a The Ædiles, Prætors and Consuls, were called curule magistrates, from the curule chairs in which they were carried. See Fenestella, Pomponius, & Alex. ab Alex. book iv. chap. xi.

^b The *Tbenfæ* were a kind of chariots or waggons, in which the images of the Roman Gods were carried.

Cicero in Verr. 5. 72.

^c This hall generally was in that place of the house into which they first entered, and exactly in the centre. A little after, our author uses the expression *in ædium vestibulis*, in lieu of *medio ædium*, used in this place, and both justly enough from the situation of this great hall or porch.

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ing houses, while others ran to those at greatest distance, imagining them at least to be yet untouched, and full of booty. But terrified at the general desolation, they returned in a body to the forum, and the adjacent places, lest they should fall, when dispersed, into some ambuscade. Here finding the plebeian houses shut, but the halls of the nobility open, they were more afraid to enter the last than the first, beholding, as it were with a reverential awe, these venerable men sitting in the porches of their houses, dressed and adorned in a manner more magnificent than human, nay perfectly resembling Gods in the awful majesty and gravity of their looks and countenances. When they had stood some time gazing at those venerable personages as if they had been images, one of them, M. Papirius, incensed a Gaul, who gently stroked his beard, which it was then the custom to wear very long, by striking him on the head with his ivory baton. Upon this the slaughter began with him, and the rest were all killed in their seats. The Gauls, after having massacred these noblemen, gave quarter to none; and having rifled the houses, set them on fire.

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WHETHER it was that all the Gauls had not an intention utterly to destroy Rome, or whether their chiefs thought it best, in order to terrify the besieged into a surrendry out of love to their houses, to shew them some part of them in flames, or not to burn them all, that what remained might be a pledge to make their enemies hearts relent; it is certain the fire did not spread the first day so far and so wide as it uses to do in a city taken by the enemy. The Romans from the citadel seeing their city filled with enemies, running dispersed up and down the streets, and in all places some fresh calamity on the back of another, were not only distracted in their minds, but could fix their eyes and attention to no particular object. Wherever they heard the shouts of the enemy, the shrieks of the women and children, the crack-

crackling of the flames, and the crash of the falling houses, they turned their minds, faces and eyes, to all these dismal objects, as if wanton fortune had placed them on an eminence to be spectators of their country's destruction, having nothing of what belonged to them left to defend excepting their bodies. Their case was more deplorable than that of any other besieged, because, shut up from the relief of their country, they saw every thing belonging to them in the power of their enemies. Nor did a quieter night succeed the day spent in such anguish. And when this restless night gave place to the new day, some new scene of slaughter was every moment presented to their view. But notwithstanding they were oppressed and overwhelmed with so many evils, their courage did not fail; and though they saw their whole city levelled with the ground by fire and sword, they were determined bravely to defend the poor little hill they possessed, the only spot of their country that remained free. Nay, at last, seeing the same calamities happen daily, they were so inured to miseries, that they became quite insensible of their misfortunes, and regarded only the arms and swords in their hands, as all they had left to confide in.

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THE Gauls, likewise, having for some days to no purpose made war only upon the houses, and seeing nothing remaining amidst the flames and ruins of the captive city but armed men, and these neither terrified with so many calamities, nor disposed to surrender, unless they were forced to it, resolved to try the utmost, and assault the citadel. Having therefore given the signal at day-break, their whole army was drawn up in battalia in the forum. Thence they filed off with a great shout, and, covering themselves with their bucklers in the form of a tortoise, advanced to the foot of the hill. But the Romans acted against them with great presence of mind and precaution. They posted guards on all the avenues, and

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and where they saw the Gauls advancing, there they opposed the best of their troops, suffering the enemy to climb up the hill, being sensible, that the higher they got, they could with the greater ease be turbled down the precipice. They therefore halted in the middle of the hill, and from an eminence, which seemed of itself to be a sufficient defence, attacked the enemy, and made great havock and slaughter among them; so that from that time the Gauls never made a like attempt, either with detachment or the whole of their army. Having therefore no hopes of taking the citadel by assault or force of arms, they prepared to blockade it. This they had never thought of before, and had burnt what corn was in the city, while the Romans daily carried off that was in the country to Veii. For this reason they divided their army, and resolved that one part should go and pillage the lands of the neighbouring nation while another continued the blockade of the citadel. These foragers were to furnish the besiegers with provisions. But in these excursions from the city of fortune, to give the Gauls a trial of Roman bravery, conducted them to Ardea, where Camillus then lived in banishment. This great man, more afflicted at the public calamity than at his own, exhausted the vigor of his spirits and strength, in accusing Gods and men, and with indignation wondering what was become of those men, who under his command had taken Veii and Falerii, and had ever in other wars fought with more courage than success when, on a sudden, he received news of the Gauls approach, and that the Ardeates, in great consternation, were deliberating upon the measures proper to be taken in this conjuncture. It had not hitherto been his custom to appear in their public council but, excited as it were by a divine impulse, he repaired to their assembly on this occasion.

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THERE he addressed them thus: “ Ardeates my old friends, but now my fellow-citizens,

“

first being the effect of your kindness, and the last owing to my fate, let none of you think I forget my condition, when I appear in this place of your assembly. The present occurrence and the common danger oblige every one to contribute all the assistance he can, in this unexpected calamity. Besides, when will it be in my power to make grateful returns for your favors, if I omit this opportunity? or wherein can I be serviceable to you, if not in war? By it I maintained my reputation in my own country. But after being always successful in war, I was banished in time of peace by ungrateful citizens. Now, Ardeates, a fair occasion is offered you of requiring the Roman people for all the important services they have done you, which you yourselves well remember, and for that very reason ought never to be upbraided with them; and of acquiring to your city immortal glory from the defeat of this common enemy. To these people, who are advancing hither in disorderly companies, nature has given huge bodies and impetuous spirits, rather than real strength of body and constancy of mind; and for that reason they bring more terror than force to battle with them. The defeat of the Romans is a proof of this. They took the city when open to them; but an handful of soldiers made head against them from the citadel and capitol. Now tired out with the length of the blockade, they leave it, and disperse themselves over the country; glutted with meat and wine, which they greedily devour wherever they can come by it, as soon as night comes on they lay themselves down, like wild beasts, nigh brooks of water, without entrenchments, guards or sentinels. And at this very time their late success makes them less cautious than usual. If you therefore would defend your walls, and prevent this whole country from falling into the hands of the Gauls, take arms in a full body

CHAP. XLIV. “ at midnight. Follow me to slaughter not to bat-
 tle. If I do not deliver them into your hands
 fast asleep to be butchered like beasts, I shall sub-
 mit to the same fate at Ardea, that I met at
 Rome.”

CHAP. XLV. BOTH his friends and enemies were convinced
 that Camillus was the ablest general then living. So
 that after the assembly broke up, they refreshed
 themselves, and carefully watched the giving of the
 signal. As soon as it was given, they were all ready
 without the gates, and Camillus at their head in the
 dead of night. When they were got a little way
 from the city, they found the camp of the Gauls,
 as he had foretold, unguarded and neglected on all
 sides, and invaded it with a great shout. There
 was no fighting any where, but a great slaughter in
 every place. And the Gauls were killed, lying na-
 ked, and fast asleep. Yet the frightful noise roused
 those that were farthest off out of their beds; but
 not knowing what the matter was, or whence they
 were attacked, some of them fled, and others rushed
 unawares upon the enemy. A great number escaped
 into the country of Antium, where the inhabitants fell
 upon them, as they straggled up and down, and cut
 them to pieces. In the territories of Veii, a like slaugh-
 ter was made of the Hetrurians. This people, far from
 commiserating the misfortune of a city, settled almost
 four hundred years in their neighbourhood, and ruin-
 ed by a strange and unheard of enemy, even at this very
 time made incursions upon the lands of Rome, and
 laden with booty, formed a design of attacking Veii,
 the only shelter and last resource of the Roman nation.
 The Roman soldiers spied them ranging over the coun-
 try, and in a body driving the booty before them;
 they likewise observed their camp pitched not far from
 Veii. Hereupon they first lamented their own situ-
 ation, but presently indignation and on the back of
 it resentment enflamed their hearts. “ Do the He-
 trurians too, said they, from whom we diverted
 “ th

“the arms of the Gauls, and brought them upon CHAP.
 “ourselves, make sport at our misfortunes?” It XLV.
 was with difficulty they were restrained from attack-
 ing them that instant; but their ardor being check-
 ed by Cædicius, a centurion, to whom they had giv-
 en the command, they suspended their vengeance till
 night. All that was wanting was a general equal to
 the great Camillus, otherwise every thing was con-
 ducted with the same order, and had the same suc-
 cess as at Ardea. Besides, this being conducted by
 the prisoners who survived this night’s slaughter, they
 marched against another body of Hetrurians, en-
 camped at the salt-pits^a, and before they were aware,
 made a greater slaughter of them the next night.
 Thus flushed with a double victory, they returned tri-
 umphant to Veii.

IN the mean time, the siege of Rome was but CHAP.
 slowly carried on, and both sides remained unactive, XLVI.
 the Gauls being solely intent upon preventing any
 of their enemies from escaping through their guards;
 when all on a sudden a young Roman drew upon
 himself the admiration both of his fellow-citizens and
 enemies. A sacrifice, peculiar to the Fabian family^a,
 had been fixed to the Quirinal hill, and could be
 performed no where else. Therefore C. Fabius Dor-
 so came down from the capitol to perform the same,
 and in his sacrificing dress^b and all the apparatus for
 that ceremony in his hands, passed through the ene-
 my’s guards, and without being moved at what they
 said or said, arrived on the Quirinal hill. Having
 duly performed this sacrifice in that place, and re-
 turning with the same steady countenance and pace,

^a Near Ostia at the mouth of Ty-
 ber.

^a Each family had it’s tutelary
 gods, the observation of festivals and
 sacrifices in honour of whom, when
 authorized by the pontifices, became
 indispensable acts of religion; and the
 obligation of performing them was
 always conveyed down to the descen-
 dants, or next heirs of the family.

Cic. book ii. of *lætus*.

^b Servius thus explains the expres-
 sion. *Gabinus cinctus, to hang a gown*
on one shoulder, and bring a lappet of it
down the back, and under the other arm.
 In this manner did the Roman ma-
 gistrates wear their gowns when they
 offered sacrifices in war, and thus did
 their soldiers fight.

CHAP. he re-entered the capitol, in full confidence that those
 XLVI. Gods, whose worship even the fears of death could
 not force him to abandon, would be propitious to
 him. The Gauls were either astonished at his sur-
 prizing boldness, or moved by a sense of religion,
 which that people do by no means neglect. In the
 mean time the army at Veii, not only gained fresh
 spirits, but was considerably reinforced daily, not on-
 ly by many Romans out of the country, who had
 been dispersed after the defeat at Allia, and the un-
 fortunate taking of Rome; but likewise by crowds
 of Latine volunteers, who joined them in hopes of
 sharing in the spoil. They thought it was now high
 time to recover their country, and deliver it from
 the hands of the enemy. But this strong body want-
 ed a head. The very place put them in mind of Ca-
 millus, and besides great part of that very army had
 fought with success under the conduct and auspices
 of that able commander. Cæditius likewise said,
 “ he would do nothing to provoke either Gods or
 “ men to put an end to his command, but would
 “ himself remember his rank, and demand a gene-
 “ ral.” Thus they unanimously agreed to send for
 Camillus from Ardea, but not till they had first con-
 sulted the senate at Rome; so modest were they
 in all respects, and shewed so great a deference to
 the forms of their government, even when the re-
 public was almost on the brink of ruin! It was a
 dangerous attempt to pass through the enemies guards
 to the citadel. But Pontius Cominius, an active
 young man, promised his service in this affair; and
 laying himself on the bark of a tree, was safely car-
 ried down the stream of the Tyber to the city. Then
 he got up into the capitol by a steep rock on the side
 next the river, which was for that reason left un-
 guarded by the enemy; and being brought before
 the magistrates, delivered his commission from the
 army. Having received the senate’s decree, “ that
 “ Camillus should, by an act of the comitia assem-
 “ bled by curiæ, be recalled from exile; be, by an
 “ edic

“ edict of the people, immediately appointed dicta-
 “ tor, and that the army should have the general
 “ they desired,” he came down from the capitol by
 the same way, and returned to Veii. And deputies
 were dispatched to Ardea, who brought Camillus to
 Veii; or rather an act, repealing his banishment, was
 passed in the comitia assembled by curiæ, and he was
 declared dictator in his absence; for it seems more
 credible, he did not set out from Ardea till he had
 certain intelligence of the act passed by the senate;
 because he could not change the residence he was
 confined to without the voices of the people, nor
 take the auspices regularly in the army, in order
 to their entering upon action, till he was appointed
 dictator.

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DURING these transactions at Veii, the citadel
 and capitol of Rome were in great danger. For
 whether the Gauls had observed the prints of a man's
 feet in that place where the messenger from Veii had
 got up, or of themselves discovered that it was ac-
 cessible by the rock Carmentalis^a, they one clear
 night first sent an unarmed man before to examine
 the way, and then handed him up his arms; and
 where it was steep, they supported, lifted and drew
 one another up, as the difficulty of the place requi-
 red, till they reached the top with so much silence,
 that they not only passed unobserved by the guards,
 but did not even awake the dogs, animals soon di-
 turbed by noise in the night. But they did not e-
 scape the vigilance of the geese, from whom, as sa-
 cred to Juno, the Romans abstained, though in the
 greatest want of provisions^b. And this saved the
 capitol.

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^a *Carmenta* or *Carmentis* was a pro-
 phetess, and mother of Evander. She
 reigned on the top of a hill in Rome,
 which was then called *Saturnius*, but
 afterwards *Tarpeius* and *Capitolinus*;
 here, according to Dionysius and So-
 crates, a temple was erected to her.
 Varro conjectures that the rock
 Carmentalis, which hung over the
 gate of that name, was in that place
 where this temple stood.


^b From this time geese were ever
 held in honor at Rome, and a flock
 of them always kept at the pub-
 lic expence. A golden image of a
 goose was set up in memory of
 their service, and one every year
 carried in triumph on a soft litter,
 finely


CHAP.
XLVII.

capitol. For first by their gagging, and then by beating their wings, they roused M. Manlius, who had been consul three years before, and was a great foldier. He snatching up his arms, and giving the alarm to the rest, ran to the rampart, and while the rest trembled with fear, with the boss of his buckler tumbled down a Gaul, who was standing on the top of the wall. This man in his fall beat down those who were next to him, and Manlius killed others who, having in fright quitted their arms, were hanging by the hands on the rocks. In short other Romans crowded to the place, and beat off the aggressors, with darts and stones, so that the whole body of them tumbled headlong from the precipice. When the confusion was over, the Romans spent the remainder of the night in as much quiet, as people, whose minds were so much disquieted with the danger they had escaped, could do. At day-break the military tribunes assembled their troops by sound of trumpet, in order to bestow rewards and inflict punishments on those who deserved them. In the first place Manlius was praised for his bravery, and had presents made him not only by the military tribunes but by the whole body of the soldiers; for each of them brought into his house, which stood in the citadel, half a pound of meal, and a measure of wine containing five ounces; indeed a small reward in itself, but the present scarcity made it a great proof of their affection, each retrenching of his own subsistence, and the necessaries of life, to do honor to the merit of one man. The sentinels on that post, where the enemy had privately got up, were called next. Although the military tribune Sulpicius declared he would punish them all according to the law of arms yet, all the soldiers laying the blame on one particular sentinel, he was afraid of a mutiny, and

finely adorned; whilst dogs were held in abhorrence, and one of them every year impaled alive on the branch of an elder tree. Plin. & Plutar de fort. Rom.


spar


spared the rest; but with universal approbation threw **CHAP.**
 him who was certainly guilty down from the rock. **XLVII.**
 From that time guard was kept with greater care by 
 both sides. The Gauls were more vigilant, because
 it was commonly reported, that messengers went be-
 tween Rome and Veii; and the Romans, from the
 remembrance of the danger they had run in the
 night.

BUT famine distressed both parties, more than **CHAP.**
 any other calamities of sieges and war. Besides, **XLVIII.**
 the Gauls had got the plague amongst them, as 
 they were encamped in a low ground lying between
 two hills, exceeding hot by reason of the burning
 houses, and full of smoke, and, when any wind
 stirred, both ashes and dust flying about in an into-
 lerable manner. As this people were accustomed
 to a moist and cold climate, they were not able
 to support under these nuisances, but being tor-
 mented and stifled with the excessive heat, died
 like rotten sheep. And, wearied with burying sin-
 gle persons at a time, they piled up their dead
 carcases in heaps, and burnt them promiscuously.
 Thence this place got a famous name, “the Gauls
 “burying place.” Upon this they made a truce
 with the Romans, during which, with the generals
 permission, the two armies conversed together;
 and while the Gauls upbraided the besieged with
 want of provisions, and demanded them to sur-
 render on that account, it is said, to obviate that
 thought, the Romans threw loaves of bread from
 the capitol, into the posts of the enemy^a. But by

^a Florus, book i. chap. xiii. says, that Manlius advised the garison to this, in order to weary out the ene- my, who were persuaded, that fa- mine would soon oblige the Romans to surrender. Lactantius, book xx. says, that, when the Romans were reduced to extreme want of bread, Ju- piter, the tutelary God of their ca- pitol, commanded them in a dream, to make all the corn they had into bread, and then throw it among the

Gauls, reserving none to supply their own wants. The enemy, deceived by this show of plenty, despaired of re- ducing the citadel, and raised the siege. In memory of this nocturnal admonition, the Romans erected an altar to Jupiter under the name of *Pistor* the *Baker*. But the following account of driving away the Gauls, given by our author, and confirmed by other historians, is by far the most credible.

CHAP. XLVIII.  this time the famine could neither be concealed nor endured any longer. Therefore whilst the dictator was levying troops by himself at Ardea, he commanded L. Valerius, general of the horse, to bring the army from Veii, and was taking proper measures to make himself a match for the enemy. In the mean time the army in the capitol, fatigued with mounting guard and watching, after having surmounted all other human miseries, but not able to support under hunger, which is invincible to nature, and day after day in expectation of some aid appearing from the dictator, at length not only their provisions but their hopes likewise failing, and their feeble bodies sinking under the weight of their arms as they mounted guard, absolutely demanded leave to surrender, or ransom themselves, on the best terms they could. The Gauls likewise gave distinct hints in their discourses, “that they would raise the siege for a small ransom.” With that the senate met, and gave the military tribunes power to make an accommodation, which was concluded in a conference between Q. Sulpicius, the military tribune, and Brennus, general of the Gauls; and a thousand pound weight of gold^b was the price to be paid for a people who were soon to command the universe. This was in itself a shameful capitulation, but the Gauls superadded another mark of indignity. They brought false weights, and when the tribune refused them, their haughty monarch threw his sword into the scale, and was heard to say, “Wo to the conquered,” an expression altogether insupportable to the Romans.

CHAP. XLIX.  BUT both Gods and men hindered the Romans from living on the terms of a ransomed nation. For by lucky accident, before this infamous price of their redemption was all paid, their wrangling having hindered the whole gold from being weighed, the dictator came up, and commanded the money to be

^b About 45000 l. according to Arbuthnot.

taken away, and the Gauls to be gone. When they refused, pleading the capitulation they had made, he replied, “ that no treaty concluded with a magistrate “ of inferior authority, without his orders, after he “ had been nominated dictator, could be valid,” and with that bade them “ prepare for battle.” He ordered his own troops to throw their baggage in a heap, and stand to their arms; “ for by the sword “ and not by money they were to redeem their “ country. They were to fight in view of the temples of their Gods, their wives, children and native soil (disfigured by the calamities of war) and “ all that ought to be defended, recovered and “ revenged.” Then he drew up his legions amidst the rubbish of the almost ruined city, and an uneven ground, in the best manner the nature of the place would allow, and took all the precautions that skill in military affairs could suggest or recommend for the advantage of his own troops. The Gauls, surprized at this new scene, ran to their arms, and attacked the Romans with greater fury than prudence. Fortune had now changed sides, and the Romans had the help of both Gods and men. So that at the first charge the Gauls were routed with as much ease as they had got the victory at Allia. They received a more complete defeat, by the valor and good conduct of the same Camillus, in a second battle, which they fought eight miles from Rome on the Gabinian road. There they were all slaughtered, their camp taken, and not a man of them left to carry home the accounts of their defeat. The dictator, having recovered his native country from the enemy, returned in triumph to Rome, and the soldiers, in their unpolished mirth, stiled him a second Romulus, the father of his country, and founder of a new city, praises he justly merited. But he certainly saved the same country, which he had preserved in war, a second time in peace, by hindering the people from removing to Veii, though both the tribunes were more keen in promoting that matter after the city

CHAP. XLIX. was burnt, and the people themselves more inclined to follow that advice than before. For this reason he did not abdicate the dictatorship after his triumph, the senate having conjured him, “not to leave the commonwealth in an unsettled state.”

CHAP. L. A S Camillus was most zealous in point of religion, he in the first place took under consideration the concerns of the immortal Gods, and got a decree of the senate passed, “that all the temples, because they had been profaned by being in the possession of enemies, should be rebuilt, bounded and purified; and the books in the custody of the duumvirs should be consulted for the manner of performing this expiation. That by public authority a treaty of friendship should be made with the Cærites, because they had given refuge to the Roman priests, and sacred things, and by the kindness of that people, the worship of the immortal Gods had not been intermitted. That the ludi capitolini^a should be celebrated in gratitude to the great Jupiter, who, in time of danger, had preserved his own august abode^b, and the citadel of the Roman people; and that, for the performance of them, Camillus should establish a college, the members whereof should be chosen out of those people who lived in the capitol and citadel.” Mention was also made of expiating the neglect of that voice, which had been heard in the night, forewarning them of their ruin, before the war with the Gauls, and a temple ordered to be erected to Aius Locutius in new-street^c. It was likewise ordered that the gold which had been rescued from the Gauls, and what, in the midst of their danger, had been taken out of the other temples, and carried into the chapel of Jupiter, should be deemed sacred, and deposited at his shrine, seeing in the confusion they had forgo

^a The Circensian games. See chap. ii. of book vii.

^b The capitol.

^c See our author, chap. xxxii. of this book, pag. 107. note ^a.

the proper places to which it ought to be returned. CHAP.
The religion of the Romans had formerly appeared, L.
in that when the public wanted gold to make up the
sum, which they had agreed to pay the Gauls for
their ransom, the ladies had supplied that want, that
the sacred treasure might not be touched; for which
act of generosity they had thanks returned them, and
the additional honor of having, after their death, fu-
neral orations pronounced over them as well as the
men. When every thing relating to the Gods, and
what was under the cognizance of the senate. was
performed, and while the tribunes in their daily ha-
rangues excited the people to leave the ruins of
Rome, and remove to Veii, a city ready built and pro-
vided with all conveniences, Camillus went into the
public assembly of the people, attended by the whole
body of the senate, and addressed them in the fol-
lowing speech.

“ ROMANS, contests with your tribunes give CHAP.
“ me so great uneasiness, that the reflection of my LI.
“ being at a great distance from their contentions,
“ was the only comfort I had in my unfortunate
“ exile, while I lived at Ardea; and for the same
“ reason I never should have returned from that
“ place, if you had not recalled me by a decree of
“ the senate, and the voices of the people. Nor is
“ it owing to a change in my opinion, that I am now
“ returned, but your distressed condition obliged me
“ to it. For the question was not, whether I should
“ be re-established in my native country, but whe-
“ ther it should continue on it's basis. Nor would
“ I now open my lips, nay I would willingly be
“ silent, was not this a struggle in behalf of my coun-
“ try, to forsake which, would be shameful in any o-
“ ther, but criminal in Camillus, while any spark of
“ life remained. For why did we recover, why did we
“ deliver our besieged city out of the hands of ene-
“ mies, if, now it is redeemed, we ourselves aban-

CHAP.

LI.



“ don it? If, after both Gods and Romans kept
 “ possession of, and inhabited the capitol and cita-
 “ del, when all the rest of the city was taken by
 “ the victorious Gauls, we now, when the Ro-
 “ mans are conquerors, and our city regained, desert
 “ that same capitol and citadel, and our success oc-
 “ casion greater solitude in Rome, than our adver-
 “ sity did? Truly, if we had no regard to the reli-
 “ gious rites, instituted and delivered down to us
 “ from the foundation of our city; yet, consider-
 “ ing the remarkable evidence the supreme being
 “ has at this time given, of his protecting the Ro-
 “ mans, I imagine, men can no longer neglect the
 “ worship of the Gods. For, I beseech you, look
 “ back to all the adversity and prosperity of for-
 “ mer years; and you will find, that EVERY
 “ THING prospered when you performed your
 “ duty to the Gods, and every thing became un-
 “ fortunate when you despised them. First of all,
 “ the war with Veii, which, alas! lasted so many
 “ years with incredible fatigue, was not ended, till
 “ by the counsel of the Gods the water was let out
 “ of the Alban lake. What shall I say of the late
 “ destruction of our city? Was it not the effect of
 “ our slighting a voice sent from heaven to fore-
 “ warn us of the coming of the Gauls; of the sa-
 “ cred law of nations being violated by our embassa-
 “ dors, and of our not punishing, through a like
 “ neglect of the Gods, that crime as we ought?
 “ For this, therefore, have we suffered so much
 “ from Gods and men; we have been conquered,
 “ made captives, and ransomed, as examples to all
 “ the world. Our misfortunes then put us in mind
 “ of the duties of religion. We fled to the Gods
 “ in the capitol, we took refuge in the august abode
 “ of Jupiter, the greatest and best of beings; in
 “ midst the general ruin of our state, we hid some
 “ of our sacred things in the earth, and carried o-
 “ thers to the neighbouring cities out of our enemies
 “ reach. Though thus abandoned by Gods and
 “ men,

“ men, we did not omit the worship of the former,
 “ and for this they restored us our country, victory,
 “ and our ancient renown in war, which we had
 “ forfeited ; for this they turned all their fury upon
 “ the enemy, put them to flight and delivered them
 “ up to certain slaughter, because, blinded by avarice,
 “ they had broke their faith and bargain in
 “ weighing the gold.”

“ ROMANS, having before your eyes such instances of the effects of regarding or contemning the Gods in human affairs, do you not perceive what horrid crimes we are about to commit, even before we are well escaped from the wreck of our former faults and misfortunes ? We inhabit a city founded in lucky auspices and auguries : every place of it abounds with traces of religion and the Gods : and the places for performing our yearly solemn sacrifices are as fixed, as the days on which they are to be celebrated. Would you then, Romans, abandon all these Gods, both public and private ? Or has this act of yours the least resemblance to that of the noble youth C. Fabius, who was lately seen, in time of the siege, to your great astonishment as well as the enemy’s, come down from the citadel amidst the darts of the Gauls, and perform a yearly sacrifice, peculiar to the Fabian family, on the Quirinal hill ? Are the holy rites of a private family not to be omitted in time of war, and do you think it fit that the publick sacred rites and Roman Gods should be abandoned in time of peace ; that the priests and flamens should be less careful of performing the public ceremonies of religion, than a private person, those of his family ? Perhaps some may say, we will either celebrate these holy rites at Veii ourselves, or send priests from thence hither to perform them. But neither can be done without violation of our ceremonies. For not to run over all the sacred ceremonies or all the Gods in particular ; in the
 “ festival

CHAP.
 LII.

HAP. “ festival of Jupiter, can the bed be spread in any
 LII. “ other place but in the capitol? Why need I men-
 “ tion the eternal fire of Vesta, and the image safe-
 “ ly kept in her temple as a pledge of dominion?
 “ Why should I speak of your Ancilia, Mars Gra-
 “ divus, and father Romulus? Would you have
 “ all these holy things, which are as old as the
 “ city, nay some of them ancients than it’s foundati-
 “ on, abandoned in a profane place? But mark the
 “ difference between us and our ancestors. They
 “ handed down to us certain sacred rites to be cele-
 “ brated on mount Alba and Lavinium. Was it
 “ an act of religion to bring religious ceremonies
 “ from an enemy’s city to us at Rome, and shall
 “ we, without being guilty of sacrilege, carry them
 “ from hence to an enemy’s town, Veii? Pray
 “ call to mind, how often our sacred rites have been
 “ performed anew, when any ancient usage has been,
 “ either by negligence or accident, omitted. What
 “ was it of late, after the prodigy of the Alban
 “ lake, but the renewing of the sacred rites and
 “ the auspices, that relieved the commonwealth,
 “ oppressed with the Veian war? But besides all,
 “ we, mindful as it were of our ancient religious
 “ institutions, have brought foreign Gods to Rome,
 “ and instituted new ones. Juno, queen of the Gods,
 “ was lately brought from Veii, and how glori-
 “ ously was the day of her dedication on the A-
 “ ventine hill celebrated by the zeal of the ladies.
 “ We ordered a temple to be erected in new-street
 “ to Aius Locutius, on account of the voice which
 “ was heard in the night. We have added the
 “ ludi capitolini to the other solemn games, and,
 “ by the authority of the Senate, have established
 “ a new college of actors to perform them. What
 “ needed we have undertaken all this, if we were
 “ resolved to leave Rome at the same time with
 “ the Gauls? If we did not voluntarily stay in
 “ the capitol during so many months that the sieg
 “ lasted

“ lasted ? If it was fear that kept us from the
 “ enemy ? But I have only hitherto mentioned our
 “ religious institutions and temples, but what shall
 “ I now say in relation to the priests ? Don’t you
 “ consider what a crime we are about to commit in
 “ regard to them ? The Vestals are fixed to one
 “ place of abode, from which nothing but the tak-
 “ ing of Rome ever moved them. It is unlawful for
 “ the priest of Jupiter to stay one night out of Rome.
 “ And would you make them Veientine instead of
 “ Roman priests, and, O Vesta, would thy ministers
 “ forsake thee now ? And will that priest, by liv-
 “ ing in a strange country, bring so great guilt upon
 “ himself and the republic every night ? What need
 “ I mention other things, which are performed by
 “ auspices, almost all within the pomærium ? Can we
 “ forget or neglect any part of them ? The comitia
 “ by curiæ, which have the cognizance of military
 “ affairs ; the comitia by centuries in which the con-
 “ suls and military tribunes are elected, where can
 “ they be held under proper auspices, but in the usual
 “ place ? Shall we translate them to Veii ? Or shall
 “ the people, with so much inconvenience, meet in
 “ this city, abandoned both by Gods and men, for
 “ the sake of holding these comitia.”

CHAP.

LII.

“ BUT it is urged, that necessity obliges us to
 “ leave a city made desolate by fire and sword, to re-
 “ move to Veii, where every thing is entire, and
 “ not harass a poor people with rebuilding of Rome.
 “ Romans, though I did not tell you, yet I believe
 “ you see clearly, that this is a vain pretext, not
 “ founded in truth ; for you remember, that before
 “ the arrival of the Gauls, when both your publick
 “ and private buildings were untouched, and your
 “ city in safety, the same affair of removing to Veii
 “ was in agitation. Remark, tribunes, the diffe-
 “ rence between my sentiments and yours. You
 “ think, that although there was no reason for mak-
 “ ing

CHAP.

LIII.

CHAP.
LIII.

“ ing this removal then, yet now there is. I on the
 “ contrary, (be not surprized till you hear rightly
 “ what I have to urge) am of opinion, that supposing
 “ we ought then to have removed, when Rome was
 “ whole and entire, yet we ought not now to leave
 “ these ruins. For at that time our victory was
 “ some reason for our removing to the captive city,
 “ which would have been glorious to us and our
 “ posterity. But now it would be both mean and
 “ shameful in us, and do honor to the Gauls. For
 “ we will rather seem to have been conquered
 “ and lost our country, than to have left it victori-
 “ ous. Is it the defeat at Allia, the taking of our
 “ city, and the blockade of the capitol, that hath
 “ laid us under the necessity of abandoning our tu-
 “ telary Gods, of flying and banishing ourselves from
 “ a place we were not able to defend? Shall the
 “ Gauls be able to demolish Rome, and shall it be
 “ thought the Romans were not able to rebuild it?
 “ What then remains, but that they, as it is well
 “ known their numbers are incredible, return with a
 “ new army, and inhabit this city, which they have
 “ taken and you abandoned? If they had a mind to
 “ settle in Rome, would you suffer it? What if not
 “ the Gauls, but your former enemies, the Æqui and
 “ Volsci, should remove to Rome? Would you per-
 “ mit them to become Romans, and yourselves only
 “ burghers of Veii? Whether would you choose that
 “ this when become a wilderness should remain in your
 “ own possession, or be inhabited by enemies? Truly I
 “ cannot determine which of these would be the great-
 “ est crime. Are you ready to commit so many crimes,
 “ and suffer such disgrace, because you are loth to re-
 “ build the city? If it was not possible to get better
 “ or larger houses than the poor cottage of our founder,
 “ would it not be more eligible to dwell in huts, like
 “ shepherds and herdsmen, amidst your sacred and
 “ household Gods, than that the whole state should
 “ go into banishment? Did our ancestors, who were
 “ strangers,

“ strangers and shepherds, so soon build themselves a
 “ new city, when there was nothing in this place but
 “ woods and marshes; and shall we, when the capitol,
 “ citadel and temples of the Gods are standing and
 “ safe, think it difficult to rebuild a city destroyed by
 “ fire. Why do all of us refuse to do that in this ge-
 “ neral conflagration, which each individual would
 “ do, if his private house should be burnt down?”

CHAP.

LIII.

“ BUT what if at length, either by treachery or
 “ accident a fire should happen at Veii, and the
 “ wind (as might chance to be the case) should
 “ spread the flames so as to consume best part of that
 “ city; must we then seek to remove from thence
 “ to Fidenæ, Gabii, or some other town? Has
 “ your native soil no charms to attract you? Has
 “ this country, which we call mother, none? And
 “ does our love to our country extend only to roofs
 “ and rafters? Truly, though it gives me less plea-
 “ sure to call your injustice, than my own misfor-
 “ tune to remembrance, I will frankly own, that as
 “ oft as in my banishment I reflected on my native
 “ country, the delightful hills, the pleasant fields,
 “ the Tiber, that country I was accustomed with
 “ pleasure to survey, this sky under which I was
 “ born and bred, came into my mind. Let these,
 “ O Romans, rather engage you by their attractive
 “ charms, to remain in your own place of abode,
 “ than torment yourselves with the want of them
 “ after you have left them. It was not without
 “ good reason, that both Gods and men pitched
 “ upon this place to build a city in; most whole-
 “ som hills, and a convenient river, both for con-
 “ veying the corns from the inland country, and
 “ furnishing us with merchandize by sea; the sea
 “ so near as to serve all good purposes, but at
 “ such distance as does not expose us to the dangers
 “ of being attacked by foreign fleets: in short, ly-
 “ ing in the very centre of Italy, the only situation
 “ capable

CHAP.

LIV.

CHAP.
LIV.

capable to promote the increase of a city. It's own greatness in so short a time is a proof of this. It is now, Romans, but the three hundred and fixty fifth year of our city : So long have you waged war with so many ancient nations, and after all neither the Volsci in conjunction with the Æqui, possessing so many and strong cities; not all Hetruria so powerful both by sea and land, and extending the whole breadth of Italy between two seas, have been able to cope with you in war. Since this is the case, what reason, in the name of misfortune ! can people of your experience, and who may carry your own courage but never surely the fortune of your city hence, have for trying new experiments? Here is the capitol, where the head of a man was formerly found and declared that Rome should be the capital of the world, and mistress of the universe. Here, when the capitol was by augury cleared of all other forms of religious worship, the Gods Youth and Terminus, to the great joy of our ancestors, would not suffer themselves to be removed. Here are the fires of Vesta, here are the bucklers that fell from heaven, here are all the Gods ready to shower prosperity upon you if you continue in Rome."

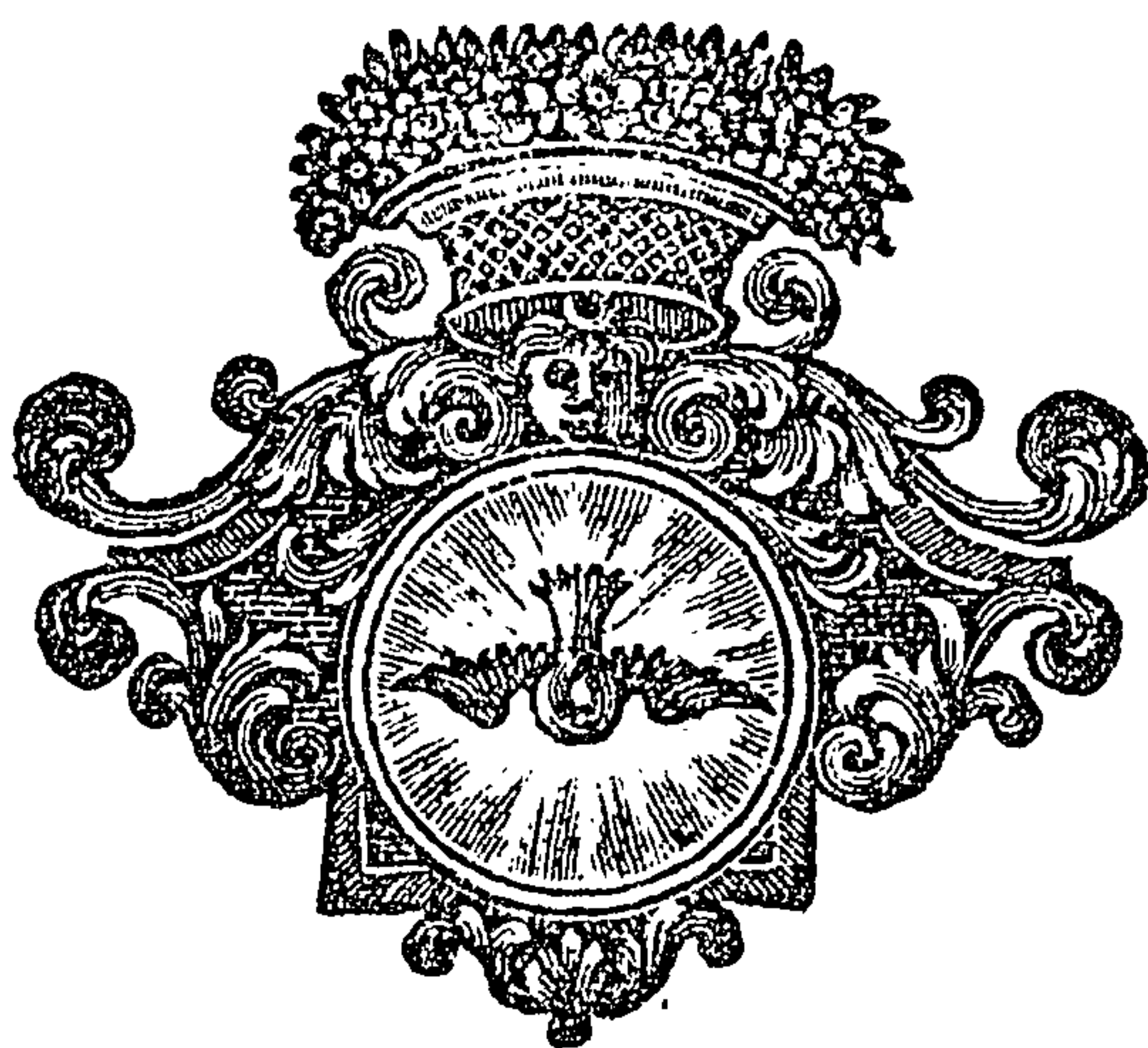
CHAP.
LV.

IT is said, that the whole speech of Camillus, but especially that part which related to religion, made a great impression upon the multitude. But a word, seasonably pronounced, determined their doubts. For a little after, while the senate was met in the Curia Hostilia to deliberate on these things, the cohorts by chance in their return from guard passed in a body through the forum, and a centurion called out in the comitium, " Ensign-bearer, halt here and plant your colors : it is the best place we can stay in." Upon this the Senators ran out of the temple crying, " we accept the omen," and the whole multitude that stood round approved of it. Having thus

thus rejected the law, they begun to build the city at random. The public furnished tiles, and leave was granted to every one to dig stone and other materials where he pleased, giving security that they would finish their houses that year. Their hurry occasioned them to have no regard to the regularity of the streets, for each, without minding whether it was his own or another's ground, built wherever he found an empty place. By this means it happened, that the ancient sewers, which ran at first through the streets, now run every where under private houses; and the city had more the appearance of a place well inhabited, than regularly disposed.

CHAP.
LVI.

End of the FIFTH BOOK.



T H E

T H E
ROMAN HISTORY,
BY
TITUS LIVIUS of *Padua*.

B O O K VI.

This book contains an account of the success of the Romans against the Æqui, Volsci and people of Præneste. Four new tribes added, the Stellatine, Sabatine, Tromantine and Narnian. M. Manlius, though he had saved the capitol from being taken by the Gauls, though he had relieved all who were in debt to others, and redeemed those who were bound to servitude for insolvency, yet is thrown down from the Tarpeian rock; being suspected and condemned for aspiring to be king: to stigmatize him the Senate pass a decree, that for the future none of the Manlian family shall bear the prænomen of Marcus. Two of the tribunes of the people, C. Licinius and L. Sestius, publish a law for raising Plebeians to the consulship, which was never before enjoyed by any but patricians. The fathers struggle hard in opposition to this law, yet it is carried by the same tribunes, who bore that office five years successively, and L. Sestius was the first Plebeian, that was elected consul. Another law passes, that no single person shall possess more than five hundred acres of land.

CHAP.
I.

M. Furius
Camillus
dictator,
Y. of R.
365. B. J.
C. 387.

I HAVE in the five preceding books given an account of the transactions of the Roman people, first under the government of kings, and afterwards of consuls, dictators, decemvirs and military tribunes with consular power, from the foundation of their city to the time of it's being taken by the Gauls. But the foreign wars and domestic seditions, wherein they were engaged during this period, are in great measure involved in obscurity, not only on account of

of their too great antiquity, as things at a distance cannot be distinctly discerned ; but also, because the use of letters, which are the only faithful records of historical events, was but little known in those early times ; and if there was any thing of moment in the registers of the pontiffs, or other public or private monuments, the greatest part of them perished in the flames that consumed the city. But as on the back of this calamity, Rome received a second beginning, and rose out of her ruins with greater lustre than before, like shoots which spring up in greater number and with uncommon forwardness from the root after the tree is cut down, so the Roman exploits in war and transactions in time of peace shall henceforth be narrated with greater perspicuity, and confirmed by more authentic testimonies. To proceed then : As Marcus Furius Camillus was the person, who first raised the state from ruin, so he had the principal hand in supporting it when raised. Therefore the Romans would not suffer him to abdicate his dictatorship till the year was completed. And as they did not chuse, that the military tribunes, during whose administration the city had been taken, should hold the comitia for the election of magistrates against the next year, the government returned to an interregnum. In the mean time, while the people were constantly and busily employed in rebuilding the city, as soon as Q. Fabius was out of his office, he was cited by C. Marcius tribune of the people, to take his trial for having, contrary to the law of nations, fought against the Gauls, to whom he had been sent ambassador. But as death delivered him from this prosecution, it happened so opportunely that it was generally believed to be voluntary. During the interregnum, P. Cornelius Scipio, and M. Furius Camillus for the second time served the office of interrex. The latter created L. Valerius Poplicola a second time, L. Virginus, P. Cornelius, A. Manlius, L. Æmilius and L. Posthumus military tribunes with consular power. These magistrates having entered into their

Thirty-
third
Mil. trib.
P. Cornelius
Scipio, M.
Furius Ca-
millus, L.
Valerius
Poplicola,
L. Virgini-
us, P. Cor-
nelius, A.
Manlius, L.
Æmilius,
L. Posthu-
mius.
Y. of R. 366.
B. J. C. 386.

CHAP.

I.



office immediately after the interregnum, their first care was to consult the senate about religious concerns. And in the first place ordered that diligent search should be made for all the treaties then extant, and all the laws, which at that time were confined to those of the twelve tables and certain regulations made by the Roman kings. Some of them were published among the people; but such as related to sacred things were kept secret by the pontiffs, chiefly with a view to make religion the means of keeping the vulgar in a constant subjection to them. Then they took under consideration the lucky and unlucky days, and the seventeenth day of July, which was remarkable for two great disasters (being the day on which the Fabii were cut off at Cremera, and that of the defeat at Allia, which occasioned the destruction of the city) they called, from the latter misfortune, dies Alliensis^a, and stamped a mark upon it, that no public or private business should be transacted thereon. Some are of opinion, that because Sulpicius, the military tribune, could not by the sacrifices he offered on the sixteenth of July find any favorable omen, or obtain favor from the Gods, and in consequence thereof the Roman army had been routed three days after by the enemy, it was ordered that no sacrifice should be offered on the day after the ides, and that this likewise is the origin of the tradition which extends the same regulation to the day after the kalends and nones of every month.

CHAP.

II.



BUT they were not long allowed to deliberate quietly upon proper measures, for reinstating the public after this heavy calamity. For the merchants brought account, that on the one hand their old enemies the Volsci had taken up arms with a design to extirpate the Roman name; and on the other the principal men of all the lucumonies of Hetruria had met at the temple of Voltumna, and entered into a confederacy to make war against Rome. A new subje

^a The day of Allia.

of terror was likewise added by the revolt of the Latines and Hernici, who ever since the battle at the lake Rigillus, which happened near an hundred years before, had continued faithful to their alliance with the Romans. Wherefore, as they were thus menaced with uncommon dangers from all quarters, and it was plainly evident to all, that the Roman name was become not only hateful to their enemies, but also contemptible amongst their allies, they resolved to create M. Furius Camillus dictator, that so the state might be defended, by the good conduct of the same person, who had formerly recovered it from ruin. The dictator appointed C. Servilius Ahala general of the horse; and having prohibited all judiciary proceedings, levied the young men, yet so as not to exclude the aged citizens, who had any strength remaining; for them he also formed into centuries and obliged to take the military oath. Having thus mustered his troops he divided them into three bodies. One he sent into the country of Veii to make head against Hetruria; another he ordered to encamp before the city. A Manlius, a military tribune, commanded the latter, L. Æmilius that which was sent against Hetruria, and the dictator himself led the third against the Volsci. He begun to storm their camp at a place called Marcus^a, not far from Lanuvium^b. They had taken the field in great contempt of the Romans, whose youth they imagined had been all destroyed by the Gauls: but when they heard that Camillus was general, his very name struck them with such terror, that they secured themselves within a strong rampart, and it with a barricade of trees that the enemy might have no passage into their entrenchments. When the dictator perceived this, he ordered fire to be thrown into the fence of trees which covered their lines.

M. Furius
Dictator,
C. Servil.
Ahala general
of the
horse.

^a There was a hill so named twenty-five miles from Rome and five from Lanuvium. It was one of the boundaries between the Pomptin and Volscan territories, and may be supposed to have took it's name from Marcius Corio-

lanus encamping on it.

^b A city of old Latium. It stood on the Appian road twenty miles from Rome, and eight from Antium, at present it is called *Civita Lavina*, or *Civita Indovina*.

CHAP. ^{II.} By chance the wind blew fiercely against the enemy; so that he not only cleared a passage to their camp by the fire, but by the heat, smoke and crackling of the green stuff, threw the enemy into such consternation, that the Romans found less difficulty in getting over the trench into the Volscan camp, than in passing the barricade of trees which was burnt down. When the enemy were all routed and slaughtered, the dictator, seeing he had taken the camp by storm, gave the plunder to the soldiers, and this bounty was the more agreeable, as they little expected it from a general, who had never before shewn himself liberal. Then he pursued those who had fled, and having laid waste all the Volscan dominions, wholly subdued that people one hundred and seven ^a years after they had commenced hostilities against Rome. The conqueror passed over from the Volsci to the Æqui, who were making preparations for war, defeated their army at Bola^b; and then attacking not only the camp, but even the town, he took both at the first assault.

CHAP. ^{III.} WHILE there was such success on this side, where Camillus, the prop of the Roman state, commanded, the terror increased on the other. Almost all Hetruria was up in arms and besieged Sutrium^c, a city in alliance with the Romans. When the Sutrini sent ambassadors to the senate imploring help in this calamity, a decree passed “that the dictator should march to their relief without delay.” But the miserable situation of the besieged would not suffer them to wait the coming of this relief; for the handful of men they had in the town, being quite worn out with labor, watching and wounds, (as the same persons were continually exposed to these hardships

^a Our author here computes from the two hundred and fifty-ninth year of Rome in the consulship of Appius Claudius and Publius Servilius.

^b It lay not far from Prænestæ and Lavicum, in the neighbourhood

of the Latines.

^c It lay thirty-three miles from Rome, and bears the name of Sutræ at this day. Diodorus is certainly mistaken, when he says it was a Roman colony at this time.

without the least relief) they were obliged to surrender their city by capitulation; and being disarmed and sent away with a single garment a piece, as they were in a train leaving their native country in this destitute plight, by good luck they met Camillus with the Roman army. This sorrowful company threw themselves at his feet; their chiefs had recourse to prayers, which the last extremity wrung from them, and the women and children, who accompanied them in their exile, seconded them with their tears. Upon which he bade “them cease their lamentations, for he brought sorrow and tears to the Hettrurians;” and ordered “the Sutrini, with whom he left a small guard, to sit still in that place, and his own men to lay down their baggage and take only their arms with them.” Then he marched with all expedition to Sutrium, where he found, as he expected, and as is usual after victory, every thing neglected; no guards before the walls, the gates standing open, and the conquerors dispersed carrying the spoil out of the enemies houses. Thus was Sutrium twice taken in one day. The late victorious Hettrurians were killed every where by the new enemy. Nor had they time to rendezvous and form themselves together in one body, or to take their arms. And when each, as he best could, ran to the gates, to find if possible some way to escape to the fields, they found them shut, for that was the dictator’s first order. Upon that some ran to their arms, others, who had them in their hands when the attack began, called their neighbours to their assistance, and as they were thus reduced to despair, would have made an obstinate resistance, had not the heralds who were sent through the city, to summon them to lay down their weapons, proclaimed quarter to all who did so, and that none should be hurt but such as continued in arms. Then those who, when they had no other refuge, were fully resolved to defend themselves and fight to the last extremity, after they had hopes of life given them, threw down their weapons;

pons; and as fortune had made that their safest course surrendered themselves unarmed to the enemy. A great number of them was disposed of in the prisons, and before night the Sutrini were put in possession of their city, which was still entire, and had suffered none of the calamities of war; because it had not been taken by storm, but surrendered by capitulation.

CHAP.

IV.

CAMILLUS having thus conquered three several enemies in one campaign, returned to Rome in triumph. The captives led before his chariot were for the most part Hetrurians. When they were sold by auction, the sum raised by the sale was so considerable that the ladies were repaid the gold they had advanced for the state; and of the overplus were made three golden bowls, which it is well known were inscribed with Camillus's name, and to be seen at the feet of Juno in the chapel of Jupiter, before the burning of the capitol. The same year such of the Veientes, Capenates, and Falisci as had fled to the Romans while they were at war with these states, were made citizens of Rome, and had land assigned them. Such Romans as, to avoid the trouble of rebuilding their houses, had removed to Veii, and taken possession of the empty ones there, were recalled by a decree of the senate. They at first murmured and did not comply; but at last a certain day being fixed for their returning to Rome upon pain of death, fear broke their obstinacy and made each of them obey. And thus Rome not only became very populous, but houses rose in every corner of it. The state helped to defray the expence; and the Ædiles exacted the labor of the people as a service they owed to the republic, nay private persons, prompted by a desire of having convenient habitations, hastened to complete the work, and within the year a new city was entirely finished. In the end of the year the comitia were assembled for the election of military tribunes with consular power, and chose T. Quinctius Cincinnatus, Q. Servilius Fidenas

Fidenas a fifth time, Julius Iulus, L. Aquilius Corvus, L. Lucretius Tricipitinus and Servius Sulpicius Rufus. They led one army against the Æqui, not to make war, for that people owned themselves conquered; but, out of revenge to ravage their country, and that they might not leave them any strength for raising a new rebellion. Another they led into the territories of the Tarquinienſes; where they took and demolished two cities belonging to the He-trurians, Cortuoſa and Contenebra^a. There was no reſiſtance made at Cortuoſa, for they came upon it by ſurprize, and having carried it at the firſt ſhout and aſſault, plundered and ſet it on fire. But Con-tenebra ſuſtained a ſiege for a few days. Yet the inhabitants were reduced by continual toil from which they had no reſpite. For the Roman army was divided into ſix bodies, which relieved each other by turns every ſix hours, while the ſmall number of the townſmen obliged the ſame perſons to be conſtantly expoſed to fatigue and upon cloſe duty againſt the enemy. So that at laſt they ſurrendered, and let the enemy enter the town. The military tri-bunes intended to have appropriated the ſpoil to the public; but they were not quick enough in giving orders to put their deſigns in execution. For whiſt they deliberated, the ſoldiers took poſſeſſion of it, nor could it be taken from them without exciting their reſentment. In the ſame year, that the city might not be ſtored with private buildings only, the capitol was repaired with ſquare ſtone, a work which ſtill deſerves to be admired, notwithſtanding the pomp and magnificence of the city in this preſent age^b?

Thirty-fourth mil. trib. T. Quinctius Cincinatus, Q. Servilius Fidenas, Julius Iulus, L. Aquilius Corvus, L. Lucretius Tricipitinus, Servius Sulpicius Rufus. Y. of R. 367. B. C. 385.

AND now, when the citizens were employed in building, the tribunes of the people often made harangues in their aſſemblies about the agrarian laws. And to encourage the hopes of the commons they frequently talked of the Pomptin territory, which

^a We are not able to trace the ſituation of thoſe two cities.

^b The reign of Auguſtus.

CHAP.
V.

was now, since Camillus had quite subdued the Volsci, become the undoubted property of the Romans. It was pretended, “that that territory was more exposed to suffer from the nobility, than it had ever been by the attacks of the Volsci. For the latter only made incursions upon it, and that not at all times, but only in time of war, and when they had the advantage; whereas the former violently seized the lands of the public as a constant inheritance, and the people could have no share in them if they were not divided, before the patricians had got all into their clutches.” These declamations made but little impression upon the commons, few of whom frequented the forum, so much were they taken up with building, and at the same time so drained of money, that they little minded the lands, which they were not able to stock. In a state full of respect for religion, the principal magistrates, from a remembrance of their late calamity, even carried their zeal to superstition; and therefore that the auspices might be renewed for a new election, the government returned to an interregnum. During it M. Manlius Capitolinus, Servius Sulpicius Camerinus and L. Valerius Potitus successively governed the republic. At length the latter held the comitia for electing military tribunes with consular power, and L. Papirius, C. Cornelius, C. Sergius, L. Æmilius a second, L. Menenius, L. Valerius Poplicola a third time were elected. They entered into office and put an end to the interregnum. That year the temple of Mars, which had been vowed in the war with the Gauls, was dedicated by T. Quinctius the duumvir, who had the care of religious affairs. Four tribes^a, composed of the new citizens, were added to the former; the Stellatine^b, Tro-

Thirtyfifth.
Mil trib.
L. Papirius,
C. Cornelius,
C. Sergius, L. Æmilius, L. Menenius,
and L. Valerius Poplicola.
Y. of R. 368.
B. J. C. 384.

^a These four new tribes were composed of those Veientes, Capenates, and Falisci, who had come over to the side of the Romans in the former war, had been naturalized, and had lands assigned them.

^b This tribe took its name from

a little country in Hetruria, between Capena, Veii and Falerii. Some have confounded it and the city Stellata of Campania, without considering that Rome had not at this time extended her conquests so far as the latter

Festus Pomp.
mantine

mantine ^c, Sabatine ^d, and the Narnienfine ^e, and these increased the number of tribes to twenty-five ^f.

L. SICINIUS, tribune of the people, brought the affair of the Pomptin lands again upon the carpet, before a numerous assembly of the people, and more disposed to covet the lands, than they had been before. A motion was likewise made in the senate concerning war with the Latines and Hernici, but it was put off, as they were more intent upon a war of greater importance, for Hetruria was up in arms. The chief administration of affairs was entrusted to Camillus, who was chosen military tribune for the following year, and had for colleagues, Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis, Q. Servilius Fidenas a sixth time, L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, L. Horatius Pulvillus and P. Valerius. In the beginning of the year the public care and attention was diverted from the Hetru-

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VI.



Thirty-sixth
Mil. trib.
Serv. Cornelius Maluginensis,
Q. Servilius Fidenas. L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, L. Horatius Pulvillus and P. Valerius.
Y. of R. 369.
B. J. C. 383.

^c It was so called from Tromentum, a district of Tuscany. *Idem*.

^d It had it's name from an Heturian city called Sabata, now *Lanquillara*, and stood betwixt Sutri, and the sea, near the present *Lagodi Bracciano*.

^e Sigonius and Onuphrius declare in favor of the reading *Arniensis*, and that the tribe took it's name from the Tuscan river *Arne*, which rises out of the Apennines fifteen miles from the head of the Tyber, and discharges itself into the Tyrrhene sea. But Cluverius is of opinion the Roman arms had not yet penetrated so far. Therefore modern authors read *Narniensis* from *Narnia*, a city of the hither Umbria, through which the river Nar runs. But it can't be proved from any authentic history or record, that the republic extended so far at this time. Some therefore conjecture it should be *Axiensis*, from *Axia*, a city of Tarquinii; whilst others pretend that our author here speaks of the *Tribus Aniensis*, so called from the river *Anio*, and assign the following reasons. 1. Copyists might easily mistake in putting *Arniensis* for

Aniensis. 2. The Romans, it is certain, possessed lands on the *Anio*. 3. All authors agree the *tribus Aniensis* was one of the thirty-five, but all don't mention the tribe of the *Nar*. 4. It is certain there was another tribe called *Arniensis*, and that the Roman conquest did not extend to the river *Arne* in the year 367. and therefore this tribe was of later date than the *tribus Aniensis*. 5. The tribe of the *Arne* was the farthest from Rome, grounding this their opinion upon a passage of Cicero against Rullus, *a suburbana usque ad Arniensem*. So this must be later than the *tribus Aniensis*. But we leave the reader to his own judgment.

^f Many editions erroneously read thirty-five. But let us reflect, that Serv. Tullius divided the people of the city into four tribes, and those of the country into fifteen, distinguished by their places of habitation. To these nineteen two more were added, after the expulsion of the kings. And thus the number was made twenty one, and the present four make it exactly twenty-five.

rian

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rian war, by a body of men, who had fled from the
 Pomptin territories, and brought accounts to Rome,
 that the Antiates were up in arms, to whose assist-
 ance in that war the Latine states had underhand sent
 their youth. Yet they disavowed it's being done by
 public authority, insisting that voluntiers were not
 by any treaty precluded from bearing arms, where
 they pleased. The Republic was not yet in a condi-
 tion to make light of any war, however inconsiderable.
 Therefore the senate were very thankful, that Ca-
 millus was in the administration ; because, had he
 been in a private station, there would have been a ne-
 cessity of nominating him dictator. His colleagues
 frankly owned, “ that, where they dreaded an im-
 “ pending war, he alone was fit to be at the head
 “ of their affairs. They were, therefore, resolved
 “ to transfer their authority entirely into his hands
 “ and should not look on the preference they gave to
 “ the dignity of this great man, as the least diminuti-
 “ on of their own.” The senate commended the tri-
 bunes ; and Camillus, confounded with the unexpected
 honor done him, thanked them very kindly. “ The
 “ Roman people, said he, had conferred a fourth dic-
 “ tatorship upon him, and the senate, by a judgment
 “ so much to his advantage, which that illustrious or-
 “ der had passed of him, laid a very heavy burden up-
 “ on him ; but his honored colleagues, by the deference
 “ they had paid him, had laid him under the greatest
 “ obligations. If therefore it was possible to improve
 “ his former labor and vigilance, he would strain hard
 “ and use his utmost efforts, to render that esteem,
 “ which all ranks in the state so universally expres-
 “ sed of him, as perpetual, as it was great. As to
 “ the Antiates and the war with them, there was
 “ more impotent menaces than real danger to be ap-
 “ preheaded from that quarter. But though he
 “ thought they had nothing to fear, yet he would
 “ advise them not to neglect the most inconsiderable
 “ enemy. Rome was the object of the hatred and
 “ jealousy of all the nations round about ; which
 “ made

“ made it necessary to have several generals and several armies on foot for the defence of the republick. It is therefore my pleasure, P. Valerius, said he, “ that you share with me the command and conduct of the army to be led against the Antiates. And that you, Q. Servilius, encamp near this city with another army, properly accoutred and in continual readiness to march ; carefully observing, whether the Hetrurians in the mean time, as they did lately, or the Latines and Hernici, who at present annoy us, offer to move. And I am confident you will discharge this commission in a manner worthy the memory of your grandfather and father, worthy of yourself, and becoming one who has honorably passed through six tribunates. Let L. Quinctius raise a third army, out of those whose infirmities^a and age excuse them from service in the field, and with them let him garison the city and walls. Let it be Horatius’s office to provide arms, accoutrements, and provisions, and such other things as may in any event be necessary for the war. Lastly, Sergius Cornelius, we your fellow tribunes appoint you president of this venerable house, and superintendant of religion, the comitia, laws, and all civil affairs in the city.” After they all chearfully promised to exert themselves in the discharge of the offices assigned them, Valerius, whom Camillus had joined in command with himself, added, “ that he would take M. Furius for his dictator, and would serve in quality of general of the horse ; and therefore the fathers might be as confident of the success of the war, as if Camillus were to command alone.” The senate, in raptures of joy, cried out, “ that they were confident of all the measures taken in war and peace, and of the whole administration of

^a Such soldiers as were dismissed from service on account of sickness, were stiled *Causarii*, as it were, *dimissi ex causa valetudinis minus prospecti*. And hereby they were distin-

guished from those who, having served their full time, had a right to retire, and from those who were regularly discharged.

CHAP. VI. “ the affairs of the republic. And the state could
 “ never stand in need of a dictator, if it had ma-
 “ gistrates like them, among whom subsisted such
 “ harmony and union, who were so equally ready
 “ to obey or command ; and willing to share their
 “ own praises with their colleagues, rather than de-
 “ prive them of any part of their merit, by arroga-
 “ ting it to themselves.”

CHAP. VII. AFTER this, having prohibited all judiciary
 proceedings, and made the levies, Furius and Va-
 lerijs, set out for Satricum ; to which place the An-
 tiates had not only assembled a choice body of the
 Volsci, picked out of their youth, but great numbers
 of the Latines and Hernici, who had greatly multi-
 plied during the long peace they had enjoyed. These
 new enemies, in conjunction with the old, struck the
 Roman soldiers with terror. And Camillus, as he
 was drawing up his men, being informed by the cen-
 turions, “ that the troops were greatly dismayed,
 “ had been slow in taking their arms, and march-
 “ ed out of their camp with great backwardness
 “ and reluctance ; nay, had been heard complain-
 “ ing, that they were going out to fight one against
 “ an hundred ; and that they were scarce able to
 “ sustain the charge of so great a multitude when
 “ unarmed, much less armed as they were,” instant-
 ly mounted on horseback, rode through the ranks,
 and placing himself in front, so as to look the soldiers
 full in the face, said, “ Fellow-soldiers, what means
 “ this sadness, this unusual want of ardor ? Is it the
 “ enemy, me, or yourselves you have forgot ?
 “ Have not they been a constant subject for exerci-
 “ sing your valor, and enhancing your glory ? And
 “ did not you on the other hand (not to mention
 “ the taking of Falerii and Veii, or the legions of
 “ Gauls slaughtered in our captive country) but late-
 “ ly obtain a triple triumph for three victories ob-
 “ tained under my command over these very Vol-
 “ sci, Æqui and Hetrurians ? Do you not acknow-
 “ ledg

I pledge me to be your general, because I give the signal as military tribune, and not as dictator? I desire no extraordinary command over you, nor ought you to consider any thing in me, excepting myself. For the dictatorship never heightened no more than banishment abated my courage. There is then no alteration in any of us; and seeing we bring all the same things to this war, that we did to the former, let us hope for the same issue of it with regard to each. As soon as you shall engage, let every one perform, what he hath been taught and used to do; then you shall conquer, and they run away."

CHAP.

VII.

UPON this, giving the signal, he leaped from his horse, and laying hold of the next ensign bearer, hurried him on with him against the enemy; calling aloud to him to advance with his ensign. As soon as the troops saw Camillus, who being advanced in years was unfit for bodily service, advancing against the enemy, they pressed forward all at once, setting up a general shout, each calling out, "Follow your general." It is even said, that Camillus ordered the ensign to be thrown among the enemy, and that the front line exerted their utmost to recover it. And hereby the Antiates were first broken, and terror not only seized their first line, but even the body of reserve in their rear. Nor did the fierce charge of the Roman soldiers, animated by the presence of their general, only put the enemy into confusion, but nothing was more terrible to the Volsci, than the sight of Camillus himself, wherever they chanced to see him. So that wherever he went, he carried certain victory along with him; which appeared most evidently, when, upon his left wing's being almost routed, he hastily mounted his horse, and flying thither armed only with a foot soldier's buckler, re-inflated the battle merely by shewing himself, and pointing to the other wing which was driving the enemy before it. Now the victory inclined

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inclined to the side of the Romans, but the multitude of the enemy retarded their flight, and the dictator's troops were too much fatigued to be able to go through the slaughter of so great a number in a short time; when suddenly there fell a great rain, attended by a violent storm, which more effectually deprived the Romans of a complete victory, than put an end to the battle. Upon that a retreat was founded, and the following night, while the Romans were at rest, put an end to the war. For the Latines and Hernici separated from the Volsci, and returned home, with success answerable to their ill designs. When the Volsci saw themselves abandoned by those allies, in confidence of whose aid they had taken up arms, they quitted their camp, and shut themselves up within the walls of Satricum, round which Camillus began first to draw lines of circumvallation, and then to form the siege thereof by raising a mount and other works against it. But perceiving the enemy made no folly to obstruct these works, he began to think they had too little courage, for him to wait for victory by such slow proceedings. Upon which he encouraged his troops, not to weary themselves out in a tedious siege, as they had done at Veii, for they had victory in their power. And thus his men with great chearfulness scaled the walls, and carried the place. The Volsci threw down their arms, and surrendered at discretion.

CHAP.

IX.



BUT the general had formed a more important design, the siege of Antium, the capitol of the Volsci, whose inhabitants had stirred up the late war. But as so strong a city could not be taken without a great apparatus of machines for throwing stones and other warlike engines, he left the army under command of his colleague, and went to Rome, to exhort the senate to enter into proper measures for demolishing Antium. In the very time of his speech to the conscript fathers (in my opinion, because the Gods had a mind that Antium should stand for some longer time) deputies arrived

rived from Nepete and Sutrium, begging succors a-
gainst the Hetrurians, and urging, that there was no
time to be lost in sending them. Thus did fortune di-
vert Camillus from attacking Antium. As these two

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cities were situated on the frontiers of Hetruria, and in a manner the barrier and keys to it, the Hetrurians, whenever they designed to renew hostilities, took always care to seize them, and the Romans did all they could to recover and defend them. For this reason the senate came to a resolution of treating with Camillus, to lay aside all designs against Antium, and undertake the war against the Hetrurians. The troops, which Servilius had commanded in Rome, were assigned him for that service, to which he made no objection, though he would rather have had that experienced and disciplined army which lay in the country of the Volsci. All he desired was to have Valerius joined in the command with him. So Quinctius and Horatius were sent to succeed Valerius in the Volscan dominions. Then Furius and Valerius set out from the city, and arrived at Sutrium, one part of which town they found already taken by the Hetrurians, and in the other the townsmen scarce able to keep off the enemy by barricadoing all the avenues to it. But the arrival of the Roman succors, and the very name of Camillus, so renowned amongst enemies and allies, not only for the present gave them new life in their declining condition, but also gained time to get fresh supplies. Camillus then divided his army into two bodies, ordering his colleague to march his troops round to that part of the town which was in possession of the enemy, and there to make an assault; not so much in hopes of carrying the place by scaling the walls, as by drawing the enemy thither, to ease the townsmen, already fatigued with fighting, and likewise get himself some opportunity of entering it without resistance. This scheme was accordingly executed on both sides at the same instant. The Hetrurians, thus environed with dangers, seeing their walls

CHAP. IX. walls stormed with great violence, and the enemy already got within the place, flung out in great crowds at a gate, which was the only one not invested, and fled all in a body in terrible consternation. There was great slaughter made of the fugitives, both in the city and in the country; but Furius's men killed the greatest number within the walls. Valerius's troops were more nimble in the pursuit, and continued to slaughter them till night, when they could no longer see. After having recovered Sutrium, and restored it to their allies, the army was led to Nepete, which town the Hetrurians were entirely in possession of, as it had been voluntarily surrendered to them.

CHAP. X. THE recovery of this city seemed a more difficult enterprize than the former; not only on account of it's being entirely in the enemy's possession, but also because it had been surrendered by a part of the Nepefines, who had betrayed it. However it was resolved to send to the chief men of the country, to desire them to separate themselves from the Hetrurians, and put in practice that fidelity on their own part, which they had required of the Romans. But they answered, "that they were not their own masters; for the Hetrurians were in possession of their walls and gates." Upon which the Romans began first to frighten them by laying waste their lands. But then perceiving they had greater regard to the surrendry they had made to the Hetrurians, than to their alliance with the Romans, the latter brought fascines from the neighbouring fields, where with having filled up the ditches, their army approached the walls, applied their scaling ladders, and carried the town at the first shout and assault. Then proclamation was made that all the Nepefines should lay down their arms, and that quarter should be given to all of them, who should be found without them. But all the Hetrurians, unarmed as well as armed, were put to the sword. Such Nepefines, as were

were the authors of surrendring their town to the enemy, were beheaded ; but the harmless multitude had their effects restored to them, and a Roman garrison was left in the town. Thus the tribunes having regained two confederate cities out of the hands of the enemy, returned in triumph to Rome with their victorious army. The same year satisfaction was demanded of the Latines and Hernici, and they were called to account, for not furnishing their contingent of troops for several preceding years. A full meeting of both these nations returned the following answer, “ that it was neither by authority nor consent of their states, that some of their youth had served under the Volsci in the war. But they had been sufficiently punished for their wicked intentions, none of them having returned home to their country. And as to their not furnishing their quota of troops, they had been prevented by the perpetual terror they were in of the Volsci, who, like a plague, stuck so close in their sides, that they could not get rid of them, even by so many wars, one on the back of another.” When this answer was reported to the senate, they were of opinion, that they rather wanted a fit opportunity, than just grounds for making war on these nations.

CHAP.

X.



IN the following year, and military tribuneship of A. Manlius, P. Cornelius, Titus and Lucius Quinctii Capitolini, L. Papirius Cursor, and C. Sergius, both a second time, a grievous war broke out abroad, but a more formidable sedition at home. The war arose from the Volsci, supported by the Latines and Hernici, who had revolted from the Romans ; and the sedition, whence it was least to be feared, from M. Manlius Capitolinus, a man of noble extraction and great reputation. His extravagant ambition led him to despise all the other men of distinction, and to defy none but M. Furius Camillus, because so eminently distinguished by the honorable offices he had

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XI.



Thirty-seventh mil. trib. A. Manlius, P. Cornelius, Titus and Lucius Quinctii Capitolini, L. Papirius Cursor, and C. Sergius. Y. of R. 370. B. J. C. 382.

CHAP. born, as likewise by his extraordinary personal merit.
 XI. He could not bear that that great man alone should
 be placed at the helm of affairs, and entrusted with
 the command of armies. “ Camillus, said he, was
 “ now exalted so high, that he looked on those,
 “ who were elected under the same auspices, not
 “ as his colleagues, but subalterns. Whereas, would
 “ people weigh matters aright, it had never been
 “ in his power to have recovered their native city,
 “ when it was invested by the enemy, had not
 “ he himself first preserved the capitol and citadel.
 “ Camillus had surprized the Gauls while they were
 “ receiving the gold, and amused by a vain depen-
 “ dence upon the treaty of peace they had conclu-
 “ ded; but he repulsed them when they were in
 “ arms, and just on the point of taking the citadel.
 “ Every soldier in Furius’s army, who helped him
 “ to conquer, had a share in the glory of his ex-
 “ ploit; but he had no partner in his victory.” As
 he was puffed up with these conceits, and naturally
 hot and insolent, when he was sensible, that the
 senate put not that value on his qualities and endow-
 ments, which in his judgment they deserved, he
 first abandoned the interest of the patricians, and at-
 tached himself to the populace. Afterwards he con-
 certed measures with their magistrates, and, while
 he traduced the senators and cajoled the multitude,
 instead of being guided by prudent measures, he suf-
 fered himself to be carried away with the gale of
 popular applause, and chose to have the reputation
 of a great man rather than of a good citizen. For not
 contented with proposing agrarian laws, which had
 always furnished the tribunes with matter of sedition,
 he began to attempt the ruin of public credit, repre-
 senting, “ that debts were pricking goads, which
 “ not only threatned poverty and disgrace, but e-
 “ ven subjected freemen to imprisonment and cor-
 “ poral punishments.” And the truth is, as no-
 thing has a greater tendency, than debt, to ruin the
 rich as well as the poor, so the people were greatly
 loaded

loaded with it by reason of the charges they were put to in rebuilding the city. Therefore though the Volscan war, which was of great importance in itself, but rendered much more so by the revolt of the Latines and Hernici, furnished a specious pretext for creating an absolute magistrate; yet, in reality, Manlius's designs compelled the senate to chuse a dictator. A. Cornelius Cossus was the person pitched upon, and he appointed T. Quinctius Capitolinus general of the horse.

A. Cornelius Cossus dictator, T. Quinctius Capitolinus general of horse.

THOUGH the dictator plainly saw, that he had greater difficulties to encounter at home than abroad; yet, whether it was that the war required dispatch, or he was of opinion, that victory and a triumph would add weight to his dictatorship, he made the levies, and set out for the Pomptin dominions, where he had received intelligence the Volsci had been appointed to rendezvous. I make no question, but, besides the disgust, which the reader must conceive at the relation of the continual wars with the Volsci in so many former books, he will also wonder (which indeed was matter of surprise to me, when I perused the writers, who lived near those ages, and related these facts) how the Æqui and Volsci, notwithstanding so many defeats, could be in a condition to set new armies on foot. But, seeing ancient historians are silent, and give no account of this circumstance, what more can be expected of me but to give my own opinion, which every reader is at liberty to approve or reject, as he thinks proper. It is probable then, either that during the intervals of war, as is now the practice in making levies among the Romans, they trained up one race of their youth under another, whom they used as recruits in the wars which they so often renewed; or that the levies were not always made out of the same particular states, though the war was carried on always in name of the nation in general; or that those places, which, setting aside a small num-

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ber of soldiers yet kept up in them, would be a perfect desert were they not inhabited by Roman slaves, produced at that time an innumerable multitude of freemen. It is certain however, and all writers agree, that the army of the Volsci was at this time very numerous, notwithstanding they had lately been much disabled under the conduct and command of Camillus. Besides they had been joined by the Latines and Hernici, some Circenses, and the inhabitants of Velitræ. The Roman dictator encamped that day, and the next, after offering sacrifices to conciliate the favor of the Gods, and consulting the auspices, came out, and having with great cheerfulness joined his troops, who were, according to orders, by day-break arming, in order to be ready against the signal of battle should be given, he addressed them thus, “ Fellow-soldiers, said he, “ the victory is ours, if the Gods or their interpreters “ know any thing of future events. Therefore, as “ men full of certain hope, and such as are to encounter an enemy no ways their match, let us lay “ down our javelins at our feet, and take only our “ swords in our hands. Neither would I have you “ advance beyond the ground whereon you are “ formed, but stand firm in your posts, and receive their charge without stirring. When they “ have spent their darts in vain, and advance in “ disorder against you, then let your swords glitter “ in their eyes, let each of you reflect, that there “ are Gods who protect the Romans, Gods, who “ have sent us on to battle with good omens. As “ for you, Quinctius, restrain the ardor of the cavalry, carefully watching till the beginning of the “ attack, and when you see the armies closely engaged, while the enemy is frightened from another quarter, do you with your horse strike them “ with fresh terror, fall in amongst them and break “ their ranks.” Both horse and foot punctually executed their orders, and the general did not disap-

point the expectation of his troops, nor did fortune fail him.

FOR the multitude of the enemy, confiding solely in their numbers, and considering both armies only as they appeared to view, begun the attack precipitately, and quitted the field in the same manner. At the first onset they shewed some ardor by their shouts, and throwing their javelins; but when they came to close engagement, they could not bear the force of the Roman swords, or the countenances of their enemy shining through the ardor of their courage. Their front line soon gave way, which struck terror into their body of reserve, and the Roman cavalry charged and added to their fright. Upon which their lines were broken in many places, and their whole army put into such confusion, that their battalions seemed to fluctuate to and fro; but at last, when they saw the front line cut down, and each expected that he would be the next exposed to slaughter, the flight became general. The Romans still pressed after them, and as long as they fled in a body, and kept their arms, the infantry pursued; but as soon as it was observed that they threw away their weapons, and fled dispersed through the fields, troops of horse were dispatched with strict orders, not to spend time in killing single persons, till the main body of the enemy should escape; it would be sufficient to ride round them, and fright them with their darts and javelins to retard their flight, till the foot should come up, and cut them to pieces. Night only put an end to the flight and pursuit. The same day the Volscan camp was rifled, and the whole spoil, excepting the freemen, given to the soldiers. The greatest part of the prisoners were Latines and Hernici. Nor were they all of the common sort, or such as might be thought to serve for pay; but several young noblemen were found among them, which was a plain proof, that aid had

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been granted to the Volsci by public authority. Many of the Circenses and inhabitants of Velitræ were known. All of them were sent to Rome, where being examined before the principal senators, they in plain terms discovered to them the revolt of their states, as they had before done to the dictator.

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XIV.

THE dictator still kept his army encamped, not questioning, but the senate would order him to make war upon those nations. But a more urgent affair obliged them to send for him to Rome, where the sedition grew more violent every day, and on account of it's author became more formidable, than ordinary tumults had been before. For now not only Manlius's harangues but even his actions, however popular and specious in appearance, had such a natural tendency to raise tumults and seditions, that his design in them became very obvious. When he saw a centurion, who had performed many gallant exploits in war, condemned in an action of debt, and upon an execution of judgment carrying to prison, he ran with his train into the middle of the forum, and laid hold of him. And after having exclaimed against the pride of the senators, the cruelty of those who lent money upon interest, and deplored the miseries of the people, and the distress of the prisoner, whose bravery merited a better fate, he added, "In vain have I, with this right-hand, preserved the citadel and capitol, if I can bear to see my fellow citizen and brave companion in war, dragged to chains and bondage, as if he had been taken prisoner by the victorious Gauls." And with that, in sight of the whole people, he paid the creditor the debt^a, and with the accustomed formalities set the prisoner at liberty^b. "The centurion conjured the Gods to requite

^a Manlius paid the sum the insolvent centurion was condemned in to his creditor; for any one who saw a creditor carrying home or to prison a person condemned for debt, he might either by paying the money, or giving security for it's payment,

if the creditor would accept his bond, deliver the condemned person out of his hands.

^b The ancient Romans brought money and scales as a necessary ceremony in executions against debtors, as well as in lending money. Thus that

“ quite Manlius, his deliverer and the father of the
 “ Roman people.” Upon which he was immediately
 admitted into his benefactor’s riotous train, where
 he increased the tumult. For shewing the scars of the
 wounds he had received in the war at Veii, in that
 against the Gauls, and others that succeeded them,
 he said, “ by military services, and rebuilding his
 “ house which was destroyed, he had been plunged
 “ into debt ; and though he had often paid the prin-
 “ cipal sum, yet as the interest always rose above the
 “ capital, he could never get out of the usurer’s
 “ clutches. To Manlius he was indebted for the
 “ light he enjoyed, the liberty of being in the fo-
 “ rum, and of beholding the faces of his fellow-citi-
 “ zens : he had done him all the kind offices of a pa-
 “ rent, and therefore, to him he devoted his person
 “ and the remainder of his life and strength, to him
 “ he transferred all the right he had in his country,
 “ his household Gods, private or public.” The peo-
 ple, animated by these protestations, became entirely
 devoted to Manlius ; who to this added another ac-
 tion that tended more effectually to embroil every
 thing. He caused an estate, which lay in the ter-
 ritory of Veii, and was the chief part of his patri-
 mony, to be sold by auction. “ This I do, Ro-
 “ mans, said he, that I may suffer none of you,
 “ while I have any patrimony left, to be condemned
 “ for debt, and upon execution your persons carried
 “ to prison.” This last act of bounty so transported
 the multitude that they seemed ready to back the as-

that learned lawyer Ælius Gallus, apud Varronem vi. de LL. *Necti dicit quicquid per æs & libram geritur, ejus generis est testamenti factio, nexi datio & nexi liberatio.* For by solemn ceremony, used at the pleasure of the master or creditor, in order to acquire a legal right to the persons or effects of the debtor, a sham or imaginary sale was proclaimed and held, in presence of five witnesses, freemen of Rome, and arrived at man’s estate, and he who held the scales (as if he had been weighing the price, or money due) was for that reason stiled the *coemptor*,

or purchaser of the family or of it’s effects. He likewise threw a piece of money into the scale, repeating at the same time a prescribed form of words, expressing what they were about. Thus if he was purchasing a slave, he said, *Hunc ego hominem ex jure Quiritium meum esse aio, hoc ære atque hac libra.* By these ceremonies did Manlius, after paying the debt, transfer the creditor’s right in the centurion to himself. And as by this purchase he was become his own property, he might either retain him as a slave or set him free.

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ferior of their liberty in any enterprize right or wrong. Besides this, he made speeches at home, full of invectives against the patricians. In which, without regarding whether he spoke truth or not, he said, that “the senators had secreted the gold intended for the payment of the Gauls, and were not contented with being in possession of the public lands, but would even appropriate the public money to their own use. And if this hidden treasure could be discovered, it would be a fund for discharging all the debts of the people.” As it must indeed have been a heinous provocation that a sum of gold should be raised by general contribution to redeem their country out of the hands of the Gauls, and yet that very gold, when recovered from the enemy, become a prey to a few private men; therefore the people, once flattered with the hopes of such a discovery, never ceased enquiring where a theft of that importance lay concealed. As he amused and put them off with promises of discovering it at a proper time, they laid aside all care of other business, and employed their whole thoughts about that particular affair; and it plainly appeared, that if his assertion should be confirmed upon enquiry, he would gain great credit; but if it should be found false he would fall into the greatest disgrace.

CHAP.

XV.



THINGS were in this uncertain state, when the dictator, who had been recalled from the army, arrived in the city. Next day he assembled the senate, and having sufficiently sounded the inclinations of the members of that body, commanded them not to stir from his side. So attended by this venerable company, he repaired to his tribunal which was erected in the comitium, and then sent a messenger for Manlius. Being thus summoned by the dictator's express command, as soon as he had given his partisans the signal, that the critical minute of conflict approached, he presented himself before the tribunal, attended by a numerous train. On the one side

side was to be seen the senate, on the other the people, each attentively watching the orders of their leader, like two armies drawn up in order of battle. Silence being proclaimed, the dictator spoke to Manlius to this effect, “ Would to God I and the Roman senators agreed as well with the commons in all other matters, as I am confident, we shall in what concerns you in particular, and in regard to that affair, of which I am going to interrogate you. I understand you have made the citizens hope, that without breach of credit their debts may be paid out of the treasures collected for the Gauls, which the principal patricians have secreted. In this affair I am so far from throwing any obstacle in your way, that on the contrary, I conjure you Manlius, to ease the commons of Rome from usury, and make a discovery of those who lie in wait for the public money, and deprive them of their booty. If you do not, either because you are an accomplice in the robbery, or have given a false information, I will command you to be led to prison, and no longer suffer the multitude to be abused by trusting in your vain promises.” To this Manlius replied, “ That he had not been deceived, when he conjectured that a dictator had been created not against the Volsci, who are enemies as often as the senators think it will serve their purpose, nor against the Latines and Hernici, whom they drive into hostilities by forged accusations, but against him and the Roman people. For now they had laid aside all thoughts of the war, which was only a pretended one, and fallen upon him : now the dictator had openly declared he would support the usurers against the Roman people : now they sought an opportunity to accuse and utterly ruin him on account of the affection the people bore him. What, said he, A. Cornelius, and you conscript fathers, are you offended at the numerous train, which attends me ? Why don’t each of you, in
“ your

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 “ your private capacity, endeavor to deprive me of it
 “ by your beneficence, by interceding with creditors,
 “ by delivering your fellow citizens from bonds,
 “ and hindering them from being led to prison when
 “ they are condemned and have executions against
 “ their persons : by relieving the necessities of others
 “ out of the superfluities of your own fortunes ? But
 “ why do I go about to persuade you, to bestow
 “ some of your own effects ? Take another course ;
 “ only deduct from the principal what has been re-
 “ ceived in interest ; and then my train will make no
 “ greater show than that of any other senator. But
 “ perhaps you’ll ask me, why I am the only one so
 “ careful of the people’s interest ? Truly, I can
 “ make no other answer, than I would if I were
 “ asked, why I alone preserved the capitol and cita-
 “ del : at that time I gave all in general the aid I
 “ I was able, and now I will do the same to indivi-
 “ duals. As to the money intended for the Gauls,
 “ your question alone makes that matter difficult,
 “ which is easy enough in it’s own nature ; for why
 “ do you ask what you best know yourselves ? Why
 “ do you not lay down what is in your bosom, rather
 “ than order it to be forcibly shaken out ; unless
 “ there be some fraud in the case ? The more you
 “ insist upon my detecting your legerdemain, the
 “ more I fear you will impose upon the most quick-
 “ sighted. For which reason I should not be com-
 “ pelled to discover the thefts you have committed,
 “ but you yourselves ought to be obliged to bring
 “ them to light.”

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 THEN the dictator, bidding him leave off these
 idle evasions, assured him, that he would oblige him
 either to go through with making a real discovery,
 or confess his wickedness in accusing the senate of
 a fictitious crime, and exposing them to the hatred of
 the people by a mere surmise of an imaginary theft.
 But he refused to speak at the pleasure of his enemies
 upon which the dictator ordered him to be carried to
 prison

prison. When he was seized by the officer, “ Ju-
 “ piter, said he, thou greatest and best of beings,
 “ Juno Queen of the Gods, Minerva, and all ye
 “ other Gods and Goddeffes, that inhabit the capi-
 “ tol, do you suffer your champion and defender to
 “ be thus abused by his enemies ? Shall this right-
 “ hand, which drove the Gauls from your temples,
 “ be loaded with manacles and chains ?” No person
 present could endure to hear or see the indignities
 that were done him. But as this state, which of all
 others was most submissive to legal authority, had
 laid itself under some restraints, which it would in
 no case break through, neither the tribunes of the
 people, nor the people themselves, durst give a look
 or mutter a word which might tend to call in question
 the unlimited power of the dictator. Yet when
 once Manlius was in prison, it is very well known,
 that the greatest part of the commons put on mourn-
 ing, many men let the hair of their heads and beards
 grow, and in crowds surrounded the prison door,
 making heavy lamentations for his fate. In the mean
 time the dictator triumphed over the Volsci, by
 which he derived upon himself more hatred than
 glory. For it was publickly talked, “ that he had
 “ gained that honor in the city, not abroad in war,
 “ that he triumphed over a citizen, not over enemies,
 “ and wanted nothing to gratify his pride, but to see
 “ Manlius led before his chariot.” And matters
 were very near coming to a rupture, when to sooth
 the minds of the people, the senate, all on a sudden,
 without any sollicitation, but wholly of their own ac-
 cord, gave an instance of their bounty, in passing a
 vote for sending a colony of two thousand Romans
 to Sutrium, and assigned each of them two acres
 and a half of land. But, as this largess was both
 moderate, and confined to a few, it was considered
 as a reward for betraying Manlius, and the remedy
 raised the sedition to a greater height. For the par-
 tisans of Manlius appeared in a more fordid dress,
 and with greater sorrow in their countenances. And

as

CHAP. as all dread of the dictatorship was removed by Cos-
 XVI. fus's abdication after the triumph, they gave a loose
 to their tongues and spoke their minds with freedom.

CHAP. THEN every place rung with speeches upbraid-
 XVII. ing the people, "with raising their protectors to a
 precipice, and then basely deserting them in the
 critical moment of danger. Witness Sp. Cassius,
 when he solicited the distribution of lands; wit-
 nefs Sp. Mælius, who relieved them from famine
 at his own cost; they were both ruined in this
 manner. And thus was M. Manlius, while he
 endeavoured to enlarge and set at liberty part of
 the community, overwhelmed and plunged in debt,
 betrayed into the hands of his enemies. Thus
 the people as it were fattened their favorites, to
 have their throats cut. Was a man of consular
 dignity to be punished in this manner for not an-
 swering as a dictator pleased? Suppose, he had be-
 fore advanced a falsehood, and therefore could
 not answer readily at that time; was ever a slave
 punished with chains for telling a lie? And was
 that night, which was like to have been the last,
 nay proved eternal night to the Roman name,
 quite forgot? Was there no idea left of the army
 of the Gauls climbing up the Tarpeian rock? Nor
 of Manlius himself, as he was seen in arms, be-
 smeared with sweat and blood, and rescuing as it
 were Jupiter himself out of the hands of the ene-
 my? Are you of opinion, that a few measures of
 meal were a sufficient reward for the preserver of
 your native country? And can you suffer him,
 whom you have almost deified, and at least equal-
 led with Jupiter by giving him the surname of Ca-
 pitolinus, to lye bound in prison, nay, a dungeon,
 and live only at the discretion of an executioner?
 Was he alone able to succour you all, and are all
 of you together incapable to help him?" The
 multitude now did not so much as leave the place in
 the night, and threatened to break open the jail
 "when

when the senate by decree granted them what they were upon the point of extorting by force, and released Manlius. Yet they did not by this step put an end to the sedition, but on the contrary placed a leader at the head of it. About the same time the Latines and Hernici, who together with the inhabitants of the colonies of Circeii and Velitræ, had come to Rome to clear themselves from the accusation of being concerned in the Volscan war, and to demand that their prisoners should be delivered up to them, to be punished by their own laws, had an uncomfortable answer given them. But the two colonies had one yet more severe; for as they, who were Roman citizens, had formed the criminal design of attacking their native country, they were not only denied their prisoners, but also, which was a circumstance wherein the senate dealt more favorably with the allies, were expressly commanded, to quit the city with all expedition, and remove themselves from the sight of the Roman people, lest the right of ambassadors, established for strangers not citizens, should not be able to protect their persons.

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XVII.

MANLIUS's sedition being renewed, in the end of the year the comitia were held, and elected military tribunes with consular power. They were all patricians, viz. Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis a third, P. Valerius Potitus a second, M. Furius Camillus a fifth, Ser. Sulpicius Rufus, C. Papirius Crassus, and T. Quinctius Cincinnatus, all a second time. In the beginning of their administration they enjoyed peace from all their neighbours, very seasonably for the patricians and people; for the people, as they were not diverted by levies, expected that, having so great a man at their head, they should be able to deliver themselves out of the hands of the usurers, and the patricians had no foreign alarms to hinder them from applying a remedy to their domestic maladies. So that both parties being animated more than ordinary, a violent contest was

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Thirty-
eighth Mil.
trib. Ser.
Cornelius
Maluginen-
sis P. Vale-
rius Potitus,
M. Furius
Camillus,
Ser. Sulpici-
us Rufus, C.
Papirius
Crassus and
T. Quincti-
us Cincin-
natus.
V. 614. 371.
B. J. C. 381.

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fast approaching. And Manlius, more full of presumption and rage than ever, held assemblies of the commons in his own house night and day, and concerted measures with the principal men of their party, how to bring about a revolution in the state. The late affront he had received extremely exasperated his spirit, little accustomed to disgrace; and his confidence was increased as the dictator had not dared to proceed against him, as Quinctius Cincinnatus had done against Sp. Mælius, and as he had not only abdicated his office, on purpose to avoid the odium of imprisoning him, but even the senate were not able to stand out against the menaces of the populace. Puffed up and exasperated by these reflections, he incensed the minds of the people, who were already enflamed of themselves. “How long, said he, will you continue strangers to your own strength, of which nature has not suffered even the beasts themselves to be ignorant? Count at least your own numbers and what adversaries you have. Were you to engage one to one, I am confident notwithstanding, that you would fight with greater vigor for your liberty, than they for their tyranny. But as many clients as there are of you attending each of your patrons, so many will you be to each of your enemies. Only give the signal for war, and you will obtain peace: let them see you prepared to use force, and they will soon restore your rights. All jointly must make some bold push, or each individual must suffer the utmost oppression. How long will you have all your eyes fixed upon me? I shall never dis-appoint any of you. But it is yours to take care that I be not deprived of the means of protecting you. Whenever your enemies thought fit, I your protector, was reduced to the lowest ebb of fortune; and all of you tamely looked on, while I, who had saved each of you from prison, was led to prison myself. What have I to hope for if my enemies should proceed further against me

“ Mu

Must I expect the fate of Cassius and Mælius? CHAP.
You do well to testify your abhorrence of the XVIII.
thought. Yes! the Gods I hope will avert these
misfortunes, but they will not descend from heaven on my account. They must inspire you with resolution to preserve me from danger, as they inspired me to deliver you in time of war from barbarous enemies, and in peace from oppressive citizens. Notwithstanding you are such a powerful people, have you so little courage as to be always satisfied with some support against the oppression of your adversaries, and never think of entering into a dispute with the patricians, which will not leave you subject to their authority in the end. This pusillanimity is not natural to you, but you are become their vassals through mere habit. For why have you such ambition in contending with foreigners, that you think you have a right to command them; and yet are of opinion you ought to be slaves to the patricians? The reason is, that you are accustomed to fight with them for dominion; whereas against these domestic oppressors, you have been wont to make some feeble efforts to assert your liberty, rather than exert yourselves vigorously in its defence. Yet after all, whatever kind of leaders you have had, whatever sort of men you have shewed yourselves, you have always hitherto obtained what you demanded, either by main strength or good fortune. It is now high time to undertake greater matters. Only make trial of your own good fortune, and of me, whose zeal for your interest, you have already, I hope, had happy experience of. You will find less difficulty in placing a master over the heads of the patricians, than you found in getting persons to oppose their tyranny. We must down with dictatorships and consulships, in order to raise the heads of the commons of Rome. Exert yourselves therefore, and put a stop to all rigorous prosecutions for debts. I declare myself
“ the

CHAP. XVIII. “ the patron of the Roman people, a name, which
 “ my zeal and attachment to your interest have
 “ stamped upon me. If you will honour me with
 “ any more distinguishing title, or power, you will
 “ thereby more effectually qualify me to obtain your
 “ desires.” From this time it is said a plot was set
 on foot for setting up a king ; but there is no distinct
 account of the persons with whom the project was
 concerted, or to what length the scheme was brought.

CHAP. XIX. BUT on the other hand, the senate was delibe-
 rating on the proper measures to be taken in relati-
 on to the people’s secretly meeting in a private per-
 son’s house, which, by chance, was situated in the
 citadel ; and on the great danger that threatened
 their liberty. A great number of them loudly re-
 monstrated, “ that the affair required a Servilius A-
 “ hala, who would not, by ordering him to be im-
 “ prisoned, provoke an enemy of the state, but ter-
 “ minate this civil war by dispatching one citizen.”
 Yet they came to a resolution expressed in more mo-
 derate terms, but in effect the very same, that “ the
 “ magistrates should take care that the republic suf-
 “ fered no detriment by the mischievous plots of
 “ Manlius.” Upon this the military tribunes with
 consular power, and the tribunes of the people (for
 even the latter, because they perceived that their
 own power would expire at the same time with the
 public liberty, had submitted to the authority of the
 senators) consulted all together what was proper to be
 done. But when none of them could think of an
 expedient but violence and assassination, and even
 that appeared to be very dangerous, M. Menenius
 and Q. Publilius tribunes of the people, said, “ Why
 “ should we set the patricians and commons at variance
 “ in a cause which ought to unite all the members of
 “ the state against one pernicious citizen ? Why do
 “ we attack him, and the people together, when
 “ it is much safer to attack him by means of the
 “ people themselves, that he may fall and be crush-
 “ ed

ed by his own weight? We are resolved to cite him to his trial. Nothing is more odious to a free people than regal government. And as soon as the multitude shall see that your quarrel is not with them, that instead of protectors they are become judges; that the accusers are plebeians, and the party accused a patrician, and that the indictment is laid for aspiring to the crown, their love of liberty will get the better of every other passion."

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THIS resolution being unanimously approved, Manlius was cited against a certain day to take his trial. As soon as this was done, the commons at first were enraged, especially when they saw the criminal dressed in a mourning habit, not only attended by none of the senators, but not so much as by a kinsman, relation, no nor his brothers A. and T. Manlii. They observed, that to that day it had ever been customary in cases of such danger, for the nearest relations of the party accused, to change their habit; and even when Appius Claudius^a was imprisoned, C. Claudius his declared enemy, and the whole Claudian family, appeared in mourning. From all which they concluded, that this favorite of the people was to be ruined by a general conspiracy of the patricians, because he was the first who had left their party, to join that of the commons. When the day of trial was come, I don't find in any author, what his accusers charged him with in the indictment, directly tending to prove his aspiring to be king, besides the meetings of the people at his house, certain seditious words, his largesse, and the forged information of the gold. Yet I make no doubt but things of great moment were laid to his charge, seeing the people's delaying to condemn him was not owing to the justice of his cause, but the circumstance of the place^b. But that men may

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^a See vol. i. book iii. p. 315.^b The capitol, which was clearly

seen from the Campus Martius, where were always held the comitia by centuries,

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may know, not only how disagreeable, but even detestable, the cursed thirst of sovereignty renders the great and worthy actions and amiable qualities of men, it seems worthy of observation, that he is said to have produced near four hundred persons, for the payment of whose debts he had advanced money without interest, and thereby prevented the sale of their effects, and the imprisonment of their persons. And he not only mentioned the honors he had gained in war, but also produced to view the spoils of thirty enemies he had slain with his own hand, forty presents bestowed on him by generals he had served under, and among the rest were two beautiful mural^c and eight civic^d crowns. Besides he presented on the spot several citizens, whose lives he had saved in battle; among the rest, C. Servilius, who had been appointed general of the horse in his absence. And after having described all his warlike achievements, as they well deserved, in a pompous oration every way equal to the greatness of the subject, he uncovered his breast, which was full of scars of the wounds he had received in war, and looking often to the capitol, implored Jupiter and the other Gods to

turies, put the people in mind of Manlius's saving it, and this inclined the centuries to pardon his present crime.

^c It was given to him, who first scaled the wall of an enemy's city, in a general assault, and therefore in it's shape there was some allusion made to the figure of a wall, and it represented pinnacles, battlements, &c.

^d Given to any soldier who saved the life of a Roman citizen in an engagement. This was reckoned more honorable than any other crown, though composed of no better materials than oaken boughs. Plutarch has guessed very happily at the reason why the branches of this tree should be made use of before all others. For the oaken wreath, says he, being otherwise sacred to Jupiter, the great guardian of their city; they might therefore think it the most proper ornament for him who had preserved

a citizen. Besides, the oak may very well claim the preference in this case; because in the primitive times, that tree alone was thought almost sufficient for the preserving of man's life: it's acorns were the principal diet of the old mortals, and the honey, which was commonly found there, presented them with a very pleasant liquor. It was a particular honor conferred on the persons who had merited this crown, that, when they came to any of the public shows, the whole company, as well senate as people, should signify their respect by rising up when they saw them enter; and that they should take their seat on these occasions amongst the senators; being also excused from all troublesome duties and services in their own persons, and procuring the same immunity for their father, and grandfather by his side.

aid him in his distress, beseeching them “to inspire the Roman people with the same sentiments in his present perilous circumstances, wherewith they had inspired him to defend the capitol for the preservation of the Roman people;” conjuring each and all of his judges, “to look towards the capitol and citadel, and turn their faces to the immortal Gods, when they passed sentence upon him.” When the people were called to vote by centuries, and the criminal extending his arms towards the capitol, had turned from beseeching men to implore help from the Gods, the tribunes plainly perceived, that unless they could veil the memorial of that glorious exploit from the eyes of the people, the great service he had done his country would make such an impression upon their minds, that they would never find the indictment, were it ever so just. Therefore the trial was deferred to another day, and the people were summoned to assemble in the Petiline grove^e, without the gate Flumentalis^f, from whence they had no view of the capitol. There the party accused was found guilty, and with inflexible hearts they pronounced a rigorous sentence, which even struck the judges with horror. Some writers say, that duumvirs were appointed to judge this treason. Be this as it will, it is certain he was condemned, and the tribunes saw him thrown headlong down the Tarpeian cliff, and the same spot, which had formerly been the theatre of his glory, served also to preserve the memory of his punishment and death. Two marks of infamy were stamped on his memory after death, the one by the state; for whereas he lived in the capitol on the spot where the temple and mint-house of Moneta^g now stand, a motion was made

^e It stood in the Viminal field at a little distance from the gate Flumentalis. It is probable, that the height of the trees and thickness of the wood obstructed the sight of the capitol.

^f It was called *Flumentalis*, because the Tyber often ran into it, when it

swelled high. It is now called *Porto del popolo*.

^g This was a surname given to Juno, the reason of which Cicero explains in the following words. *Nam cum urbs maximo terræ motu concuteretur, nec quisquam nosset qua victima id mali*

CHAP. made in the assembly of the people, that no patrician should thenceforth dwell in the capitol or citadel: another by his own relations; for the Manlian family came to a resolution, that none of their posterity should afterwards bear the prenomen of Marcus. Such was the end of a man, who, had he not been born in a free state, would have made a shining figure in history. But the people soon after, when they had no more danger to apprehend from him, and considered only his good qualities, began to lament the loss of him. And a pestilence, which followed soon after, without any visible cause for so great a calamity, was imagined to have been chiefly owing to the punishment of Manlius. It was publicly talked, “that the capitol had been polluted with the blood of its deliverer, and the Gods were offended, that the person, who had rescued their temples out of the hands of enemies, should have been put to death as it were in their immediate presence.”

CHAP. THIS plague occasioned a scarcity of corn, and the report of those two calamities gave rise to several wars in the following year, when L. Valerius a fourth, A. Manlius, Ser. Sulpicius, L. Lucretius, L. Æmilius, all a third time, and M. Trebonius were military tribunes with consular power. For besides the Volsci, who were by a kind of destiny appointed to keep the Roman arms in perpetual exercise, the colonies of Circeii^a and Velitræ^b, who had long formed a design to revolt, and Latium, which was suspected, the Lanuvians^c, who had been hitherto

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Thirty-ninth mil. trib. L. Valerius, A. Manlius, Ser. Sulpicius, L. Lucretius, L. Æmilius, and M. Trebonius.

Y. of R. 372.
B. J. C. 380.

mali possit expiari, vox ex Junonis templo audita est, quæ sacerdotes MONUIT sue gravida terræ motum esse procurandum.

^a It was a town of the Volsci, a people of new Latium, and lay on the shore of the Tyrrhene sea, between Astura and Terracina. There are yet some remains of this city to be seen in the mountain of the same name,

and which at this day are called *La Citta Vecchia*.

^b Cæsar Augustus derived his original from this city. It was a city of Latium, and lay on the Appian road, twenty miles distant from Rome.

^c Their capital city, Lanuvium, lay, to the right of the Appian road, beyond Aricia, eighteen miles from the sea, and near twenty from Rome.

hitherto always steady in their fidelity, all of a sudden took arms against Rome. The senate, supposing this to have happened in contempt, because the revolt of the colony of Velitræ, their countrymen, had so long escaped with impunity, decreed, that as soon as possible a bill should be laid before the people for declaring war against them; and the more readily to engage the commons to agree to it, they appointed five commissioners to divide the Pomptin lands, and three to settle a colony at Nepete. Upon this a bill for a declaration of war was presented to the people, and in spite of the opposition made by the plebeian tribunes, the tribes unanimously agreed to it. All this year was spent in making preparations, for the plague prevented their taking the field. These slow proceedings gave the colonies time to avert the anger of the senate. And the greatest part of them were inclined to send a deputation to Rome, humbly to sue for pardon. But the public interest, as commonly happens, was exposed to danger by the private views of a few; for the authors of the defection fearing, lest they, who were only to blame, should be delivered up victims to the resentment of the Romans, diverted the rest from all measures tending to procure peace. Nor did these only prevent the sending this deputation by the measures they took in the senate, but likewise stirred up a great part of their people to march forth and plunder the Roman territories. And this new injury entirely banished all hopes of peace. This year likewise they first received intelligence of the revolt of the Prænestines. And when the Tusculans, Gabinians and inhabitants of Lavicum complained of their having made an incursion into their dominions, they received so cold an answer from the senate, as made it evident that venerable body gave little credit to the

It gave birth to Milo, and to the emperor M. Aurelius Antoninus Pius. Sigonius has distinctly shewn the difference between it and Lavinium, commonly confounded by authors. It is now called *Civita Lavina*, or by corruption *Civita Indovina*.

CHAP. XXI. accusation they laid against the Prænestines, because they wished it might not prove true.

CHAP. XXII. THE following year Sp. and L. Papirii, two of the new military tribunes with consular power, led the legions against Velitræ, leaving their four colleagues, Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis, Q. Servilius, Ser. Sulpicius, and L. Æmilius, all a fourth time tribunes, for the defence of the city, and to watch the motions of the Hetrurians, because they had strong suspicions of that people. The Romans fought at Velitræ against the colony there, where the Prænestine auxiliaries were more numerous than the colony itself, and gained a complete victory. And the nearness of the city to the scene of action was the occasion of the enemy's flying sooner than otherwise they would have done, and proved their only refuge after their retreat. The military tribunes did not storm the town, because they thought it doubtful whether they were able to take it, and because they were not for carrying hostilities so far, as utterly to exterminate that colony. Letters were dispatched to the senate at Rome with the news of the victory, but their contents were more severe upon the Prænestines than the people of Velitræ. Upon which by a decree of the senate with the concurrence of the people war was declared against the Prænestines, who the following year, in conjunction with the Volsci, took by force the Roman colony at Satricum after a vigorous defence, and exercised the most shocking cruelties upon the prisoners. The Romans taking this in very ill part, chose M. Furius Camillus a sixth time military tribune^a, and gave him for colleagues A. and L. Posthumii Regillenses, and L. Furius with L. Lucretius and M. Fabius Ambustus. M. Furius had the Volscan war allotted to him by an extraordinary commission, and it fell by lot to L. Furius to be his colleague in it, which did not so much contribute to advance the interest of the commonwealth, as to lay a foundation for the highest praise to Camillus; not only from the state in general on ac-

Fortieth
mil. trib.
Sp. and L.
Papirii,
S. Cornelius
Maluginen-
sis, Q. Ser-
vilius, Ser.
Sulpicius
and L. Æ-
milius.
Y. of R. 373.
B. J. C. 379.

Forty-first
mil. trib
M. Furius
Camillus.
A. and L.
Posthumii
Regillenses,
L. Furius,
L. Lucreti-
us and M.
Fabius Am-
bustus.
Y. of R. 374.
B. J. C. 378.

^a The common editions of our author are wrong in reading a *seventh* time

count of his repairing what Lucius by his rashness had ruined, but also from Lucius himself, in that from his misbehavior Camillus fought only to gain his affection, and not to raise his own reputation. M. Furius was now very far advanced in years, and when he was on the point of taking the usual oath in the comitia to excuse him on account of his infirm age, the whole people with one consent opposed him; for notwithstanding his years, he still retained a brisk and lively spirit, had all his senses entire, and though he did not cumber himself much with the fatigue of civil affairs, yet he was roused by the thoughts of war. Having raised four legions, each consisting of four thousand men, and appointed them to rendezvous next day at the Esquiline gate, he set out for Satricum. There those who had taken the colony, nothing dismayed, and confiding in their numbers, wherein they were somewhat superior, waited his coming. When they perceived the Romans were near at hand, they immediately marched out in order of battle, resolving without delay to risk all in a decisive action, in order, by this means, to frustrate the stratagems that unparallelled general, on whom the Romans mainly relied, might use to supply his inequality in point of numbers.

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THE Roman troops and their other general expressed an equal ardor for engaging, and nothing hindered their coming to blows that instant, but the wise conduct and remonstrances of Camillus alone, who by gaining time sought some favorable opportunity of improving his strength by some well formed stratagem. This made the enemy more urgent; nor did they now content themselves with forming their troops in the space before their camp, but marched out into the middle of the plain, and with colors flying came with confidence up to the Roman lines and insulted the troops. The Roman soldiers could not bear this presumption, but much less the other military tribune, L. Furius, who besides the heat of youth and disposition, was puffed up with

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the confidence he observed in the multitude, which commonly takes heart on the smallest and most uncertain grounds. Moreover, finding the soldiers full of fire, he of his own accord inflamed them more, by depreciating his colleague's authority on account of his age, the only thing he could alledge against him. He was for ever representing "that
" young men only were fit for war, and that courage
" florished or decayed with the body. That Camillus was of a most active warrior become a mere
" lingerer, and he who as soon as he came up to
" camps and towns used to attack immediately and
" carry them at the first assault, now sat still and
" trifled away time within intrenchments. What
" could he hope to gain by this conduct? Would
" it increase his own troops, or diminish those
" of his enemy? What favorable opportunity,
" what proper time or place could he expect to discover for drawing the enemy into an ambuscade? The old man's counsels were mere cold
" and ice. Camillus had already lived long enough, and acquired sufficient glory. To what
" purpose then was it to suffer the forces of the republick, which ought to be immortal, to languish
" in sympathy with the decayed body of one man." By these discourses he drew the whole army after him, and as they demanded from all quarters to be led on to action, he said to his colleague, " M. Furius, it is impossible longer to restrain the ardor of
" our soldiers; and the enemy, whose courage we have heightened by our delays, insult us with
" confidence not to be born. Do you, but a single
" person, comply with the desires of all, and hasten your conquest in battle, by suffering yourself to
" be overcome in council." To which Camillus answered, " In all the wars in which he had commanded alone till that very day, he was confident
" neither he nor the Roman people had cause to be dissatisfied either with his conduct or success. But
" now indeed he was sensible he had a colleague invested
" with

“ with equal power and authority, and who excelled
 “ him in the vigor of age. As to what concerned
 “ the army, he had ever been accustomed to com-
 “ mand, not to be commanded ; however he could
 “ not hinder his colleague from exercising a power
 “ he was vested with. Let him therefore with the
 “ help of the Gods do what he thought most for
 “ the benefit of the state. For himself he only beg-
 “ ged this favor, that he might not, in regard
 “ to his age, be posted in the front of the battle ;
 “ and he would endeavour not to be wanting in
 “ the discharge of what might be expected at the
 “ hands of an aged commander. In the mean time
 “ he made it his earnest request to the Gods, that
 “ no misfortune might give occasion to conclude
 “ his counsel the more commendable.” But the
 troops were deaf to his salutary advice, as the
 Gods were to his prayers. Then Lucius, who had
 advised engaging, drew up the first lines in or-
 der of battle, and Camillus, having formed a strong
 body of reserve, posted a strong guard before the
 camp. Then he took his station on an eminence,
 from whence he might be spectator of the issue of a
 battle fought by another’s advice.

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A T the very first charge the enemy gave way,
 not through fear but policy. Behind them, between
 their army and camp, was a rising ground of easy
 ascent, and as they had troops to spare, they had left
 in their camp some strong battalions, regularly form-
 ed and under arms, with orders to sally out, while
 both armies were closely engaged, and the enemy
 should approach their entrenchments. The Roman
 legions warmly pursued the enemy as soon as they be-
 gan to retire, and being thereby drawn into this disad-
 vantageous ground, gave them a fair opportunity for
 making this sally. By this means the conquerors in
 their turn were put into consternation, and this to-
 gether with the enemy’s body of reserve, who push-
 ed them back towards the valley, obliged the Ro-
 man

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man legions to give way. The fresh troops of the Volsci, who had sallied out from their camp, pursued their advantage, while those, who had made a feint of flying, renewed their charge. And the Roman army no more retreated in good order, but forgetting their late forwardness and ancient renown every where turned their backs, flying with precipitation to their camp. Upon this Camillus, being set on horseback by his attendants, quickly threw himself with his body of reserve in their way, and called out to them, “Is this, soldiers, the battle you demanded with such importunity? What man, what God, can you blame? Your rashness and presumption led you on to battle, and through cowardice you leave it. You have followed another general, now follow Camillus, and conquer as you used to do when I led you on. Why look you towards your camp and intrenchments? None of you shall enter them till you bring victory along with you.” Shame first stopt their precipitate flight; but then seeing their ensigns turned round, their army wheel and face the enemy, and their general, who was not only illustrious by his many triumphs, but also venerable for his age, advancing in the front, where was the greatest fatigue and danger, they all blamed themselves and encouraged one another with chearful shouts, which rung through the whole army. Nor was the other tribune wanting in his duty. For being sent, while his colleague was rallying the foot, to the cavalry, he did not only employ reproaches, because his share in the miscarriage had much impaired his authority, but using humble entreaties instead of commands, conjured them one by one, and in general, “by a brave behavior, to retrieve his honor, to whom alone was owing the bad success of the day. Notwithstanding, says he, the opposition and direct prohibition of my colleague, I chose rather to follow the rash measures of the multitude, than his single prudent advice. Whatever shall be the event of this day, Camillus’s reputation will be saved.”

“ safe. But for my part, if the battle is not renew-
 “ ed, I shall, which is a most pitiful case, share the
 “ misfortune with the rest of the army, but the dis-
 “ grace will be all my own.” It was thought most
 adviseable that as the infantry had fallen into dis-
 order, that they should quit their horses, and attack
 the enemy on foot. In the execution of this design they
 were equally distinguished by their exemplary courage
 and lustre of their arms, for they advanced to sup-
 port the legions wherever they saw them hardest
 pressed ; and both officers and private soldiers exert-
 ed their utmost and fought most bravely. The issue
 of this attack was a plain demonstration, what won-
 ders valor can effect. For the Volsci, who a little
 before had made a feint of flying, now really fled in
 great precipitation. Great numbers of them were
 slain in the battle, and after it in the pursuit. How-
 ever in their camp, which was taken at the first at-
 tack, the number of the prisoners exceeded that of
 the slain.

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I N taking account of the prisoners, some Tus-
 culans were discovered, who were set apart by them-
 selves and brought before the tribunes. At their ex-
 amination they confessed, that they had served in that
 war by order of their state. Camillus, uneasy at the
 apprehensions of a war so near home, said, “ he
 “ would immediately in person carry the prisoners to
 “ Rome, that the senate might not be ignorant of
 “ the Tusculans having fallen off from their former
 “ alliance, desiring his colleague, in the mean time,
 “ if he pleased, to take the sole command of the
 “ army.” The fortune of that day had taught Lu-
 cius not to prefer his own opinion to better advice :
 neither did he or any one else in the army imagine
 Camillus would quietly put up with his miscarriage
 whereby the republic was exposed to such imminent
 danger ; and it was the general talk both in the army
 and at Rome, that, as affairs had been carried on
 with various fortune among the Volsci, the defeat
 and

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and rout were entirely owing to L. Furius, but the honor of the victory to be ascribed to M. Furius, alone. The prisoners being introduced into the senate, the fathers decreed to make war upon the Tusculans, and commissioned Camillus to carry it on, but he requested leave to chuse an assistant to execute it with him; and when he was permitted to name any one of his colleagues that he pleased, he, contrary to every body's expectation, chose L. Furius. By this modesty he both lessened his colleague's disgrace, and acquired to himself great glory. But there was no war with the Tusculans; for that people, by a fixed resolution to continue in peace, secured themselves against the power of the Romans, which they were not able to do by taking the field. When the Romans entered their dominions, the inhabitants did not abandon the places nearest the roads by which the troops marched, nor did they desist from cultivating their lands: the gates of their city were set wide open, and great numbers of people, drest in their robes as in time of peace, came out to meet the generals; and provisions were brought in great civility from town and country to supply the troops in their camp. Camillus encamped before the gates, and being desirous to know, whether the same tranquillity, of which they had made shew in the country, prevailed within the walls, entered the town, and saw the houses and shops wide open, every thing exposed to sale as usual, all the tradesmen busied about their work, and the schools resounding with the noise of children at their books, nay the streets crowded with women and boys going backward and forward amongst the other people, wherever their occasions called them without so much as the least sign of fear or even of surprize. And though he narrowly surveyed every place to see if he could discover some sign of warlike preparations, he was so far from finding any, that he could not observe the least thing put out of the way, or brought into place on account of the present situation of affairs; but all it


so profound and settled peace, as one could scarce
imagine they had ever heard of a war.

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OVERCOME, therefore, by the enemy's pa-
tience, he ordered the senate to be assembled. "Tus-
culans, said he, you are the only people, who
have fallen on proper arms and true forces to defend
yourselves against the resentment of the Romans.
Go and apply to the senate at Rome. The fa-
thers will judge, whether your former fault me-
rits punishment more than your present repentance
deserves pardon. I shall not anticipate a favor
which you ought only to receive from the state.
You have leave from me to apply to them in a
suppliant manner, the senate will give such ear to
your suit as they shall see meet." As soon as the
Tusculans arrived at Rome, and the senate of a people,
who had a little before been the faithful allies of the
Romans, were observed standing disconsolate in the
porch of the senate-house, the fathers, moved at
the sight, ordered them to be admitted rather like
friends than enemies. Then the Tusculan dictator
addressed them in the following speech. "Con-
script Fathers, we, against whom you have de-
clared and made war, came out to meet your ge-
nerals and legions, armed and accoutred in the
very same manner as you now saw us standing in
the porch of your senate-house. Such was our
garb, such was the garb of our people, and thus
shall we always be equipped, unless when we take
arms either at your command, or to fight in your
defence. We return thanks to your generals and
troops for giving more credit to what they saw
than to false reports, and for not committing hos-
tilities where they found none in arms to oppose
them. We humbly beg that peace at your hands,
which we have strictly observed towards you;
and earnestly pray you would carry the war where
you can find an enemy. If we are by suffering to
experience the strength of your arms, we will ex-
perience

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CHAP. XXVI.  perience it unarmed. Such is our firm purpose; and may the immortal Gods make it as fortunate to us, as it proceeds from a sincere attachment to you. As to the accusations which induced you to declare war against us, although it would be to no purpose, to confute by words what has been already proved by facts; yet supposing them true, we are persuaded we may safely acknowledge them, after giving such evident proofs of a sincere repentance. It signifies little what transgressions be committed against you, so long as you deserve such satisfaction as ours." This was the substance of the speech delivered by the Tusculans, and in consequence they, for the present, obtained peace, and soon after the freedom of Rome, and the legions were marched back from Tusculum.

CHAP. XXVII.  CAMILLUS having signalized his conduct and valor in the Volscan war, his good fortune in the expedition against the Tusculans, and in both his unparalleled modesty and patience towards his colleague, quitted his magistracy with great reputation. For the succeeding year L. and P. Valerii, Lucius a fifth time, Publius and C. Sergius, both a third, L. Menenius a second, Sp. Papirius, Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis, were chosen military tribunes. Censors were wanted this year, especially on account of the doubtful reports concerning debts. For the tribunes of the people on the one hand aggravated the odious exactions of the usurers, while they on the other endeavored to lessen them, it being their interest to have it believed, that want of an honest principle rather than ability hindered the people from paying their just debts. C. Sulpicius Camerinus, and Sp. Posthumius Regillensis, were chosen censors. And they having begun an enquiry into this matter, it was interrupted by the death of Posthumius, because it was reckoned ominous to choose a colleague to a surviving censor in room of one who died ^a. Therefore Sulpicius abdicated his office, but some essential formality was omitted

^a See book v. chap. 31. p. and book ix. chap. 34.

the election of the next cenſors, and they did not enter upon the exerciſe of their office, from which circumſtances it was judged contrary to the will of the Gods that there ſhould be cenſors for that year, and they had a ſcruple of conſcience againſt proceeding to a third election. But the tribunes of the people exclaimed againſt this as an intolerable artifice. “ The ſenators, ſaid they, avoided exhibiting the cenſors books, which would certainly diſcover the true value of every man’s eſtate, becauſe they were unwilling that the real amount of the debts ſhould be ſeen, which would plainly ſhew that one part of the ſtate was devoured by the other; and in the mean time the bankrupt commons were conſtantly expoſed to one enemy or other. Pretexts were found out for raiſing war in every place without diſtinction: the legions were led from Antium to Satricum, from Satricum to Velitræ, and from thence to Tuſculum. And now the Latines, Hernici and Præneſtines were threatened with a war rather out of hatred to their fellow citizens than to their enemies, in order to wear out the people by being always in arms, and not ſuffer them even to breathe in the city, give them leiſure to think of their liberty, or appear in publick aſſembly, where they might ſometimes hear their tribunes harangue about the means of procuring them ſome relief from the perſecutions of their creditors, and putting an end to their other grievances. If the Roman people had reſolution to call to mind the liberty enjoyed by their anceſtors, they would not allow an execution in judgment to paſs againſt any citizen for money borrowed; nor any levies to be made, till the amount of the debt was aſcertained by a ſtrict ſcrutiny, and ſome proper meaſures taken for leſſening the extent of it, that each man might know what was properly his own and what he owed to others; whether his perſon remained at his own diſpoſal or was at the mercy of his creditor to be impriſoned when he pleaſed.”

CHAP. Allured by this seditious bait, the people immediately raised a mutiny. For many had executions against their persons, and upon a rumor of a war from Præneste the senate had voted the raising of new legions, both which the commons in a body, assisted by their tribunes, began to obstruct. For neither would the tribunes suffer the persons of the debtors to be seized, nor would the youth give in their names at the muster; nay for the present the fathers were less solicitous about the prosecution for debts in behalf of the creditors, than about completing the levies; for they had received intelligence, that the enemy had marched from Præneste, and encamped in the Sabine territories. In the mean time that news rather encouraged than deterred the tribunes, who prosecuted the point they had entered upon with greater vigor; and nothing else could appease the sedition in the city, but the approach of the war to its very walls.

CHAP. FOR when the Prænestines had intelligence that at Rome no army was levied, no general pitched upon, but the senate and commons bent on the ruin of each other, their leaders laid hold of the favorable opportunity, marched their army with all expedition, and laying waste all the country before them, advanced with colors flying as far as the Colline gate. This occasioned a great consternation in the city. The alarm was given, and the Romans repaired in great haste to their ramparts and gates. At length turning their thoughts from sedition to war, they chose T. Quinctius Cincinnatus dictator, who appointed A. Sempronius Atratinus general of the horse. As soon as the accounts of this were spread abroad, so great was the dread of that officer, that the enemy retreated from the walls, and the youth upon the proclamation enrolled themselves without the least opposition. While armies were raising at Rome, the enemy in the mean time pitched their camp at the river Allia, from whence they pillaged the country, boasting that they had seized a
pos

T. Quinctius Cincinnatus dictator,
A. Sempronius Atratinus, general of the horse.

post fatal to the Romans. They said, “ they would
 “ be seized with a like panic, and fly in the same
 “ shameful manner they did in the war with the
 “ Gauls. For if the Romans dreaded a day decla-
 “ red unlucky, and remarkable for bearing the name
 “ of that place, how much more formidable would
 “ Allia itself be, as it was a lasting monument of
 “ their signal defeat, than the day which took it’s
 “ denomination from it^a. There they would fancy
 “ they saw and heard the dreadful forms and fright-
 “ ful shouts of the Gauls.” Thus the Latines em-
 ployed their thoughts in wild chimeras, and vain fan-
 cies, and founded all their hopes in the imaginary in-
 fluence of the place. On the contrary the Romans
 were well assured, “ that in whatever place their ene-
 “ mies were, they were to engage the same men,
 “ whom they had defeated at the lake Regillus, and
 “ kept in servile subjection for an hundred years.
 “ The place, memorable for their overthrow, would
 “ rather excite them to efface the remembrance of
 “ that disgrace, than inspire them with vain fears,
 “ that the bad fortune attending any place could de-
 “ prive them of victory. Nay, if the very Gauls
 “ should come in their way, they would so fight
 “ with them in that very ground, as they did at
 “ Rome when they recovered their native country,
 “ and the day after at Gabii; when they behaved so
 “ gallantly, that none of the enemy, who had en-
 “ tered the walls of Rome, carried home the news
 “ either of their victory or defeat.”

CHAP.
XXVIII.

IN this disposition of mind were both armies
 when they arrived at Allia. The Roman dictator,
 when he saw the enemy ready formed, and eager for
 battle, thus addressed his general of horse. “ A.
 Sempronius, don’t you see how these men have
 posted themselves at Allia, vainly relying on the
 imaginary fortune of the place? And may the
 immortal Gods give them no greater security or

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XXIX.


^a See book vi. chap. i. p. 146.

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“ assistance! But do you, trusting solely in your arms
 “ and valor, order your men to put spurs to their
 “ horses, and briskly charge their main body; when
 “ they are once frightened and put into disorder, I
 “ will advance with the legions, and fall upon them.
 “ Assist us, O ye Gods, who were witnesses to our
 “ treaty, and take due vengeance upon them for
 “ their dishonoring you, and deceiving us, when
 “ they solemnly called upon your divinities to attest
 “ their faith.” The Prænestines were neither able
 to sustain the force of the horse or foot, but were
 broke at the first shout and charge. And as their
 battalions every where gave way, they soon turned
 their backs and fled. Nay, their fear carried them
 beyond their camp, nor did they stop their precipitate
 flight, till they were in sight of Præneste. There
 all such as had been scattered in the rout met, and
 took possession of a post which they fortified in great
 hurry, apprehending that if they retreated to the
 city, their villages would immediately be set on fire,
 their lands plundered, and then their town besieged.
 But when the victorious Romans, after rifling the
 enemy’s camp at Allia, advanced to attack them,
 they abandoned this post likewise, and took refuge
 in Præneste, thinking themselves scarce safe within
 their walls. There were eight other towns under
 the dominion of the Prænestines, which were all
 attacked one after another, and being easily sub-
 dued, the army was then led to Velitræ, and when
 it was also taken by assault, the dictator approached
 Præneste itself; which, without waiting an attack,
 immediately capitulated. T. Quinctius, after having
 won one battle, taken two camps and nine cities by
 assault, and obliged Præneste to surrender, returned
 to Rome, and carried the statue of Jupiter Impera-
 tor, which he brought from Præneste, into the ca-
 pitol in triumph. It was solemnly set up between
 the shrines of Jupiter and Minerva; and as a monu-
 ment of his exploits, the following inscription was
 engraved upon it’s pedestal, BY THE HELP OF

JUPITER, AND ALL THE OTHER GODS, T. CHAP.
 QUINCTIUS TOOK NINE CITIES Upon this he XXIX.
 abdicated the dictatorship on the twentieth day after
 he had been vested with it.

THEN were the comitia held for the election of CHAP.
 military tribunes with consular power, who were e- A.X.
 qually chosen out of the patricians and plebeians. 
 The three patricians elected were P. and C. Manlii, Forty-third
 and L. Julius, and the commoners C. Sextilius, mil. trib.
 M. Albinus, and L. Antistius. The province of P. and C.
 the Volsci was by an extraordinary commission as- Manlii, L.
 signed to the Manlii, because more nobly descended Julius, C.
 than their plebeian colleagues, and because they en- Sextilius,
 joyed a greater share of public favor than Julius. M. Albin-
 But they themselves, and the fathers, who gave us, and L.
 them this preference, soon had cause to repent it. Antistius.
 For without having reconnoitred the country before- Y.of R. 376.
 hand, they sent out some cohorts to forage, and up- B.J.C. 376.
 on a false alarm of their being intercepted, marched
 with all expedition to their rescue, without so much
 as securing the author of the alarm, who was a La-
 tine, and had deceived them under the disguise of a
 Roman. By this means they fell precipitately into
 an ambuscade. Whilst, relying solely on the valor
 of the troops, they made a brave resistance, notwith-
 standing their disadvantageous situation, and many
 were slain on both sides, the enemy in the mean
 time from another quarter attacked the Roman camp,
 which stood in the plain. Thus in both places they
 suffered extremely through the rashness and want of
 experience in the generals. And that any part of
 the Roman army remained after the slaughter in the
 ambush, and the sack of their camp, was owing to
 the brave defence made by the troops themselves,
 not to their commanders. When the news of this
 disaster reached Rome, the first step taken there was
 to nominate a dictator; but when accounts arrived,
 that the Volsci were quiet, and it appeared that that
 people knew not how to improve the favorable op-
 portunity

CHAP. portunity and victory they had gained, both the ar-
 XXX. mies and generals were recalled from that country.
 And thus they enjoyed as much peace from that
 quarter as could be expected from the Volsci. Only
 in the latter end of the year, there was some stir,
 which was occasioned by means of the Prænestines,
 who had drawn the whole Latine states to join them.
 The same year, upon a complaint from Setia^a, of a
 want of inhabitants, new planters were sent thither.
 Notwithstanding the bad success of the war, it was
 some comfort that peace reigned at home, and this
 was owing to the favor and reverence the people
 shewed to the plebeian military tribunes.

CHAP. BUT divisions rose to a prodigious height in the
 XXXI. very beginning of the next year, during the admi-
 nistration of Sp. Furius, Q. Servilius a second time,
 C. Licinius, P. Clælius, M. Horatius, and L. Ge-
 ganus, military tribunes with consular power. The
 foundation and cause of the sedition were the debts,
 in order to make enquiry into which, Sp. Servilius
 Priscus, and Q. Clælius Siculus had been created
 censors, but a war intervened to prevent them from
 proceeding in that affair. For an express arrived
 with news, which was afterwards confirmed by the
 flight of the peasants, “ that the Volscan legions
 “ had entered the Roman territories, and ravaged
 “ them far and wide.” But in this consternation so
 far were their civil contests from being restrained by
 foreign terror, that the tribunes pursued their point
 with greater violence, and exerted their power to
 obstruct the levies, till they obliged the senators to
 agree, “ that no man should pay taxes, or be mo-
 “ lested on account of debt, during the campaign.”

Forty-
 fourth mil.
 trib. Sp. Fu-
 rius, Q. Ser-
 vilius, C.
 Licinius, P.
 Clælius, M.
 Horatius,
 and L. Ge-
 ganus.
 Y. of R. 377.
 B. J. C. 375.

^a The name of the colony, at this time complaining of want of inhabitants, had been omitted by the copyist of our author, and while many scholiasts have conjectured it to have been Præneste, Satricum, or Velitræ, Sigonius seems to have rightly substituted Setia, the settling a colony at which place, Vel. Paternulus, book i.

places in the eighth year after the sack of Rome by the Gauls. It was anciently a town of the Volsci, standing on the brow of a hill near the Pomptin marshes, to the right of the river Armafene. It is famed for a fine wine from it called *Setine*. The present *Sezze* in the *Campagna di Roma*.

The people being content with this indulgence, the levies were made without delay. When the new legions were completed, they were ordered to be divided, and two armies to be sent into the Volscan dominions. So Sp. Furius and M. Horatius marched to the right along the sea coast to Antium, Q. Servilius and L. Geganius to the left by the mountains to Ecetra. Neither of them met with the enemy. They therefore fell to plundering the country. This ravaging was not like one of those precipitate, thievish incursions made by the Volsci, who relied on the discord of their enemies, and were afraid of their valor; but being a regular army, they avenged themselves in a regular manner; and to make their resentment light the heavier, staid a long time in the country. For the Volsci, fearing lest during their ravages an army should march from Rome against them, had made incursions only into the frontiers of the Roman territories; whereas the Romans tarried a great while in the enemy's country, on purpose to draw them to a battle. Having therefore burnt all the farm-houses every where, and some villages, and leaving neither a fruit-tree, nor the least hopes of harvest behind them, they drove off all the booty of men and cattle, that could be found without the walls, and thus both armies marched back to Rome.

CHAP.
XXXI.

THE debtors enjoyed some ease during the short interval employed in this expedition; but so soon as the enemy ceased to give them disturbance, they were afresh prosecuted by their creditors. And so far were they from having any hope of being relieved from the old debts, they were obliged to contract new, in order to pay a tax imposed by the censors for building a wall of square stone. This the people were obliged to submit to, because their tribunes had no levies to obstruct. The influence of the great men forced them to elect all patricians for military tribunes with consular power, viz. L. Æmilius, P. Valerius a fourth

CHAP.
XXXII.

CHAP. time, C. Veturius, Ser. Sulpicius, L. and C. Quinc-
 XXXII. tii Cincinnati. By the same influence it was carried
 without any opposition, that three armies should be
 raised against the Latines and Volsci, who had en-
 camped in conjunction at Satricum. None of the
 youth refused to take the military oath. One army
 was appointed for the defence of the city; the se-
 cond to be sent upon any sudden expedition, if any
 motion should be made by any other enemy; and
 the third, which was by far the strongest, P. Vale-
 rius and L. Æmilius led to Satricum. Here finding
 the enemy formed in order of battle on an even
 ground, they immediately attacked them; but though
 victory inclined to the Roman side, before it openly
 declared in their favor, a violent rain, attended
 with a hurricane, parted the armies. Next day
 the battle was renewed, and the Latine legions in
 particular, who, by being long in alliance with the
 Romans, had learned the art of war from them,
 maintained the fight for a considerable time with e-
 qual bravery and success. At last the Roman caval-
 ry charged, and broke the enemy's ranks, and the
 infantry advanced against them wherever they were
 in disorder. In proportion as the Roman army ad-
 vanced, that of the enemy gave way, and when
 once the victory inclined to their side, nothing was
 able to sustain their charge. The enemy was rout-
 ed, and as they fled not to their camp, but to the
 city of Satricum, which was two miles distant from
 the field of battle, the Roman horse made great
 slaughter of them in the pursuit; and their camp
 was taken and rifled. The next night after the bat-
 tle they marched with all the disorder of a flight
 from Satricum to Antium, and though the Roman
 army followed almost on their heels, their fear car-
 ried them faster away, than the enemy, however en-
 raged, could pursue. By this means, therefore, they
 had got within the walls of Antium, before the Ro-
 man army could either fall on their rear, or oblig-
 them to halt. After this, some days were spent in
 laying

Forty-fifth
 mil. trib

L. Æmili-
 us, P. Vale-
 rius, C. Ve-
 turius, Ser.
 Sulpicius,
 L. and C.
 Quincii
 Cincinnati.

Y. of R. 378
 B. J. C. 374.

laying waste their country, because the Romans were not sufficiently provided with warlike engines to attack the place, nor they strong enough to venture a battle.

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XXXII.

THEN arose some difference between the Latines and Antiates. For the Antiates, quite spent and tired out with the disasters of a long war, wherein they had been involved from their infancy to old age, were inclined to capitulate. But as the Latines had enjoyed a long tract of peace, and revolted but lately, their spirits were yet fresh, and therefore more forward than ever to prosecute the war. When both were satisfied, that they might prosecute their designs without any impediment from one another, they laid aside their strife. The Latines separated from their allies, who they thought were courting a dishonorable peace, and resolved to defend themselves; and the Antiates, having got rid of these troublesome counsellors, who were averse to all salutary measures, surrendered their town and country to the Romans. But the Latines shewed their rage and cruel resentment to that degree, that because they could neither injure the Romans by war; nor keep the Volsci in arms, they reduced to ashes the city of Satricum, which was their first place of refuge after their defeat. Nor did they leave any edifice standing in that city, but indiscriminately set all on fire, both sacred and profane, except a temple of the Goddess Matuta^a. It was neither from a sense of reli-

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XXXIII.

^a A female slave was brought into the middle of her temple, where she was first boxed about, and then driven out with ignominy by the Roman ladies. Then they brought their nephews and presented them to the Goddess, praying her to protect them. In their sacrifices, they represented in a natural manner what happened to *Bacchus's* nurses, and what *Ino* suffered from Juno's anger for nursing the son of her rival. *Ino* entertained a jealousy of a female slave, with

whom her husband fell desperately in love, and from that time bore an inveterate hatred to all women slaves. The Roman ladies imitated her jealousy and resentment in the festivals they kept in honor of Matuta. They forbade all women slaves to enter her temple, except her who represented *Atamas's* mistress. This unhappy woman they boxed and beat in revenge of the injury which had been done to Matuta. The carrying their sister's children to this Goddess, put them

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religion, nor an awful veneration of the Gods, that they spared it, but because they were terrified by a voice heard from the temple, pronouncing direful menaces, if they did not remove their impious fires from the habitations of the Gods. In this barbarous frenzy they marched to Tusculum, because that state had not only deserted the common diets of the Latines, and entered into league with the Romans, but even had accepted the freedom of Rome. As they came all on a sudden while the gates were wide open, the whole town except the citadel was surprized. The townsmen with their wives and children took refuge in the citadel, from whence they sent messengers to Rome to inform the senate of their misfortune. Upon this the Romans with a zeal and expedition worthy their exemplary fidelity, sent an army thither under the command of L. Quinctius and Serv. Sulpicius the military tribunes. On their arrival there they found the gates shut, and the Latines, both besieging and besieged, resolved on the one hand to defend the town, and on the other to gain the citadel; so that at the same time they were afraid themselves, and struck terror into others. But the arrival of the Roman troops caused a great alteration in the minds of both parties. For it converted the fear of the Tusculans into the greatest joy, while the Latines, who before thought themselves almost sure of taking the citadel, because they were already masters of the town, had now small hopes of their own safety. The Tusculans in the citadel set up a great shout, which was answered by a greater from the Roman army. The Latines were sore pressed on both sides; and could neither sustain the attacks of the Tusculans who came down

them in mind of *Ino's* misfortune, who saw *Athamas* kill her son *Learchus*, and then leap into the sea with her other son *Melicertes*; and of her fortunately saving *Bacchus*, the son of her sister *Semele*. The festival in honor of her was kept on the eleventh day of *June*, and was called

Matralia. Cakes baked in earthen pots were offered up to her. Varro de Ling. Lat. B. iv. Ovid. Fast. B. vi. Sir Isaac Newton places *Ino's* marriage with *Athamas* in the ninth hundred and eightieth year before Christ. Chr. p. 20.

upon

upon them from the fort, nor beat off the Romans, who advanced to the very foot of the ramparts, and attacked the gates. The legions first got upon the walls by the help of their scaling ladders, and then broke the bars of the gates. And the enemy, being thus hemmed in between one enemy behind and another before, and unable either to make resistance or find a way to escape, were all cut off to a man. Thus Tusculum was retaken from the enemy, and the army marched back to Rome.

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BUT as their success in war had procured them peace abroad, so much the more did the oppression of the nobility and the miseries of the people daily increase within the city ; for the measures, that were taken to oblige the latter to pay their debts, deprived them of the ability of making any payment at all. Therefore as they had nothing wherewithal to satisfy their creditors, they were adjudged and sentenced to ignominious and corporal punishments, which served in lieu of payment. By this means not only the meanest, but even the most considerable plebeians were so dispirited, that no man of activity and experience among them had the courage to offer themselves candidates for the military tribuneship in competition with the patricians, a privilege they had so strenuously labored to obtain ; nor so much as to sue for, or consent to bear the plebeian magistracies. So the senators now seemed for ever to have recovered to themselves the possession of that honorable office, which the commons had only usurped for a few years. But that the other party might not think themselves too happy in this advantage, a trifling incident occurred, which, as often happens, gave rise to an enterprize of much greater importance. M. Fabius Ambustus, a patrician of great influence and credit, not only among those of his own order, but even among the commons, because the latter sort never looked upon him as one who despised men of their mean rank, had

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CHAP. two daughters married, the elder to Ser. Sulpicius,
 XXXIV. and the younger to C. Licinius Stolo, a plebeian,
 but at the same time every way a well accomplished man ; and Fabius's not disdaining this latter alliance, gained him great favor with the commons. It happened accidentally, that as the two sisters passed their time in conversation, as usual, at the house of the military tribune Sulpicius, his lictor, at the tribune's return home from the forum, thundered at the door with his staff according to custom. As this noise, to which the younger Fabia was not accustomed, put her into a fright, the elder laughed, and seemed surprized at her ignorance. But, as a very small matter is sufficient to disturb the quiet of a woman's mind, this derisive laugh stung her to the quick. I likewise imagine, the crowd of those who paid their court to her sister, and came to ask her commands, might make her elder sister's marriage appear fortunate, and from a wrong way of thinking, whereby every person repines at the least inequality of condition between them and their relations, create in her a disgust for her own. Her Father happened to observe her in some disorder, occasioned by her late discontent, and asked her, whether all was well? At first she imputed her uneasiness to some other cause, thinking it would seem inconsistent with the affection she owed a sister, and the dutiful regard due to a husband, to own either that she envied the one, or was discontented with the other. But at last by soothing questions he drew from her a confession, " that the real cause of her
 " pain was her being married unsuitably to her qua-
 " lity, and into a family incapable of honors and
 " high stations." Upon this, Ambustus, to comfort his daughter, bad her be of good cheer; for it should not be long before she saw the same honors in her own house, which she had seen in her sisters. And from this time he began to concert measures with his son-in-law, for gratifying his daughter, and admitted into the secret L. Sextius,

young man of great spirit, and who wanted no-
 thing but a noble birth to qualify him for any pre-
 ferment.

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 XXXIV.

THE oppression of the plebeians on account of
 their debts, from which terrible grievance they could
 expect no relief, but by raising some of their own
 order to the supreme authority, seemed to present
 them with a fair opportunity of attempting some al-
 teration in the state. Therefore they thought it ex-
 pedient to apply with the utmost vigor to the prose-
 cution of their design, considering that the plebeians
 had already, by strenuously urging and supporting
 their claims, attained to such a height, that from
 thence they might, by one vigorous push more, ar-
 rive at the highest, and put themselves upon a foot
 of equality with the patricians in respect of honors,
 as they were not inferior to them in merit. For the
 present they thought it proper, that Licinius and
 Sextius should be elected tribunes of the people, in
 which office they might open themselves a way to
 other dignities. As soon as they were elected, they
 proposed several laws, all tending to restrain the
 overgrown power of the patricians, and to the bene-
 fit of the plebeians. The first regarded the debts,
 and enacted, that whatever sums had been paid for
 excessive usury should be deducted from the capital,
 and the remainder should be discharged at three
 equal payments in the space of three years. The
 second regarded the extent of land estates, and pro-
 hibited any Roman citizen from possessing more than
 five hundred acres of land. A third enacted the sup-
 pression of the office of military tribune, and the restora-
 tion of consuls, and that one of them should always be a
 plebeian. All the three regarded things of weighty
 import, and which could not be obtained without the
 most violent struggle. Thus all the principal objects
 of men's passionate desires, lands, riches and honors,
 being at stake, the senators were greatly alarmed;
 and not being able, either in their public or private
 meetings,

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meetings, to find any other expedient than what they had formerly used in like contests, I mean the intercession of some of the tribunes themselves, they prevailed with their colleagues to oppose the bills brought in by these two. In consequence of this these tribunes, who had been gained by the other party, appeared amidst the crowd of patricians, and when they saw the tribes summoned by Licinius and Sextius, to give their suffrages, would neither suffer these bills to be read, or any other to be passed by the voices of the people. Several assemblies having been in vain called, and the laws looked upon as entirely rejected, Sextius said, “ Very well, since you are so much
 “ pleased with the prevailing power of INTERCES-
 “ SION, we shall defend the commons with the very
 “ same weapon. Come then, patricians, assemble
 “ the comitia for the election of military tribunes.
 “ I shall take care, that the word, VETO, I FOR-
 “ BID, which our colleagues now chaunt in so har-
 “ monious concert, yield no such pleasing musick
 “ to you.” Nor did their menaces prove without effect ; for no comitia were held except those for the election of ædiles, and plebeian tribunes. Licinius and Sextius, being re-elected tribunes of the people, would not suffer any curule magistrates to be chosen. In this anarchy did the city continue for five years successively, the people always re-electing these two tribunes, and they suppressing the comitia for chusing military tribunes.

CHAP.
XXXVI.

IT luckily happened that the Romans were at war with no state, but the colony at Velitræ, who, waxing wanton with long quiet and ease, and seeing no Roman army on foot, not only made several incursions upon the Roman lands, but attack’d and besieged the city of Tusculum. And when the Tusculans who were old allies, and lately admitted citizens of Rome, beg’d assistance, not only the patricians, but also the people agreed to grant it, though shame was their principal motive. Therefore the two tri-
 bunes

bunes of the people waving their opposition, the
comitia were held by an interrex. and L. Furius, A.
Manlius, Ser. Sulpicius, Ser. Cornelius, P. and C.
Valerii, were elected military tribunes. But they
found not the people so tractable at making the levies
as they had been in the comitia. However with
great difficulty they raised an army, and marched to
Tusculum, from whence they not only drove the
enemy, but obliged them to take refuge within their
own walls. And now Velitræ was besieged by a
much greater force, than Tusculum had been. But
yet it could not be taken by those who begun the
siege. For before that time, new military tribunes
were created; viz. Q. Servilius, C. Veturius a se-
cond time, A. and M. Cornelii, Q. Quinctius and
M. Fabius. Nor did these tribunes perform any
memorable exploit before Velitræ. More dangerous
matters were now upon the anvil at home. For be-
sides that Licinius and Sextius, who had proposed
laws, were chosen the eighth time tribunes of the
people, Fabius, the military tribune and father-in-
law of Stolo, openly declared himself in support of
those laws, whereof he had been the first deviser.
And whereas at first eight of the college of tribunes
had opposed these laws, they had only five to oppose
them at present, and these, as commonly happens to
deserters of their party, like men amazed and bereft
of their senses, had nothing to urge in support of
their intercession, but only other men's words, and
what they had been taught before-hand at home:
“that a great part of the people were absent at the
“siege of Velitræ: that the comitia ought to be de-
“layed till the arrival of the army, in order that
“all the people might have access to give their suf-
“frages in what was for their benefit.” Sextius and
Licinius, with part of their colleagues, and Fabius
one of the military tribunes, having by so many
years experience attained a perfect skill in those arts
requisite to manage the people, wearied out the prin-
cipal senators, who came to the assembly, by teasing
inter-

CHAP.

XXXVI.

Forty-sixth.
Mil. trib.

L. Furius,
A. Manlius,
Ser. Sulpici-
us, Ser. Cor-
nelius, P.
and C. Va-
lerii.

Y. of R. 383.
B. J. C. 369.

Forty-se-
venth, mil.
trib. Q.
Servilius, C.
Veturius,
A. and M.
Cornelii,
Q. Quinctius
and M. Fa-
bius.

Y. of R. 384.
B. J. C. 368.

CHAP. interrogatories upon each particular proposed to the
 xxxvi. people. “ Had they confidence, said they, to de-
 mand liberty for themselves to possess more than
 “ five hundred acres of land, when the commons
 “ had but two a piece assigned them? Could each of
 “ them hold the property of near three hundred citi-
 “ zens, while a plebeian’s pittance of land was scarce
 “ sufficient to contain a convenient house, and bury-
 “ ing place. Would they have the commons crushed
 “ by usury, and given up to bonds and punish-
 “ ment, if they did not pay the interest before the
 “ principal : would they have crowds of them every
 “ day dragged out of the forum to be delivered up
 “ to their unrelenting creditors ; and the houses of
 “ the nobility filled with prisoners, and that there
 “ should be a private jail wherever a patrician dwelt?”

CHAP. HAVING thus exclaimed against such unheard
 xxxvii. of, and lamentable proceedings, and stirred up great-
 er indignation in their auditors, who were afraid of
 the like usage in their own case, than they dis-
 covered in speaking of them, they added, that the
 “ patricians would never set bounds to their pos-
 “ sessing of lands, and cruelly murdering the ple-
 “ beians by usury, if the people did not chuse one
 “ of the consuls out of their own body, to be the
 “ guardian of their liberty. For the nobility de-
 “ spised the tribunes of the people, who now de-
 “ stroyed their own power by their intercession
 “ It was impossible justice and equity should take
 “ place, while they were in possession of the su-
 “ preme magistracy, and the people had no other
 “ defence but the intercession of their tribunes. And
 “ till the sovereign magistracies were enjoyed in com-
 “ mon by both orders, the people would never have
 “ an equal share in the administration of the com-
 “ monwealth. Nor ought any one to think it suf-
 “ ficient, that plebeians were capable of being elec-
 “ ed in the comitia held for chusing consuls ; for
 “ unless there was a positive act passed, that one
 “ t

“ the consuls should be chosen out of the body of
 “ the people, no commoner would ever be raised to
 “ that dignity. Had they forgot, that though a
 “ decree had passed for the creation of military tri-
 “ bunes rather than consuls, in order to advance
 “ plebeians to the highest honors, yet in the space of
 “ forty-four years ^a no commoner had been created
 “ military tribune. How could they believe, that
 “ those, who were wont to secure eight places to
 “ themselves at the election of military tribunes,
 “ would of their own accord share the honor with
 “ the people, where there were only two places
 “ to be supplied? Or that they would suffer a way
 “ to be opened to the consulship, who had so long
 “ kept the military tribuneship barricaded from all
 “ access? Nay, that must be obtained by a positive
 “ law, which could not be had by interest in the
 “ comitia; and one of the consuls places, without
 “ controversy reserved, for some plebeian; for
 “ should it be left in question, the party of greatest
 “ interest would always carry it. Nor could they now
 “ object, what they formerly used confidently to
 “ alledge, that there were none among the com-
 “ mons fit to bear curule magistracies. For, pray
 “ has the commonwealth been managed with greater
 “ indiscretion and negligence since the tribunate of
 “ P. Licinius Calvus, the first plebeian tribune, than
 “ it was in those years, when none but patricians
 “ were military tribunes. On the contrary, some
 “ patricians have been condemned for male-admi-
 “ nistration, after the expiration of their office, but
 “ not one plebeian. And a few years ago the ques-
 “ tors begun to be elected out of the body of the
 “ people, in like manner as the military tribunes
 “ had been; nor were the Roman people ever dis-
 “ satisfied with any one of them. The plebeians
 “ still wanted the consulship. It would prove a sure

CHAP.

XXXVII.

^a It is true, that from the first in-
 stitution of military tribunes with
 consular power to the time when P.
 Licinius Calvus was first raised to

that dignity we compute exactly for-
 ty-four years, and in all that time
 we number no more than twenty-
 two military tribuneships.

CHAP. " prop and bulwark to their liberty. Had they
 xxxvii. " once gained this point, the Roman people might
 ~~~~~ " with justice say, that tyrants were effectually ex-  
 " pelled the city, and look on their liberty as settled  
 " on a firm basis. For from that period the people  
 " would share in every thing which distinguished the  
 " patricians, command, honors, military glory, and  
 " nobility ; all which they would enjoy, and trans-  
 " mit with still greater lustre to their posterity."  
 When the tribunes saw, that speeches of this sort  
 were much relished, they brought in a new bill,  
 " that instead of duumvirs, decemvirs should be  
 " created, to inspect the sacred rites, and that of  
 " those, half should be chosen out of the body of  
 " the people, and half out of the order of patri-  
 " cians. And then they adjourned the comitia for  
 " passing all these bills, till the arrival of the army,  
 " which besieged Velitræ.

CHAP. THE year expired before the legions returned from  
 xxxviii. Velitræ. And by this means the affair of the laws  
 ~~~~~ continued in suspense, and was put off till the new  
 military tribunes entered into their office. For the com-
 mons re-elected the two who had proposed the laws, to
 be tribunes of the people. The military tribunes were
 T. Quinctius, Ser. Cornelius, Ser. Sulpicius, Sp. Ser-
 vilius, L. Papirius, and L. Veturius. In the very begin-
 ning of the year, the contest concerning the laws was
 revived with the greatest violence ; and when the
 tribes were called to vote, and the two tribunes, who
 had proposed the new laws, could not be stopped by
 the opposition of their colleagues, the patricians, in the
 most terrible alarm, had recourse to their last refuge,
 the most absolute office and greatest man in the state:
 in consequence of this they resolved to create a dic-
 tator, and M. Furius Camillus was the person pitch-
 ed upon, who appointed L. Æmilius general of the
 horse. The authors of the law likewise armed them-
 selves with extraordinary courage against so powerful
 an opposition, and resolved steadily to support the
 cause

Forty-
 eighth mil.
 trib. T.
 Quinctius,
 Ser. Corne-
 lius, Ser.
 Sulpicius,
 Sp. Servili-
 us, L. Pa-
 pirius, and
 L. Veturi-
 us.

Y. of R. 385.
 B. J. C. 367.

cause of the people, and having ordered the commons to be assembled, called out the tribes to vote. CHAP. XXXVIII.

When the dictator, surrounded by a numerous train of patricians, and breathing nothing but wrath and menaces, had seated himself on his tribunal, the dispute began as usual between the tribunes of the people who supported and those who opposed the laws. The former had as much the advantage with regard to the prepossession and inclinations of the people, as the latter had the better in point of right. But when the first tribes were giving their suffrages for the motion in the usual form, "be it as you have proposed," Camillus interposed, and said, "Romans, since you are ruled by the caprice, not the lawful authority, of your tribunes, and as you some time ago got their intercession ratified by an unnatural separation from the body of the state, so you now endeavor by the same violent measures to render it of no effect, I will, for your sakes in particular, as well as the general good, employ my dictatorial power to maintain it, and exert my absolute authority in defence of your greatest privilege, which yourselves endeavor to overthrow. Therefore if C. Licinius and L. Sextius will yield to the negative of their colleagues, I will not interpose the authority of a patrician office in your assemblies. But if they attempt, in opposition to this intercession, to impose laws on their country as if it was a conquered state, I will not suffer the tribunician power to work its own ruin." When the tribunes of the people, notwithstanding all these big words, pursued their point with an air of contempt, and no less steadiness than before, Camillus in rage sent his Lictors to clear the forum of the people, and farther threatened, that "if they continued to enact the laws, he would oblige all the young men to take the military oath, and immediately march the army out of the city." This put the commons in a great fright, but rather inflamed than diminished the courage of

VOL. II. P their

CHAP. their ringleaders in the dispute. But before victory
 XXXVIII. declared in favor of either party, Camillus quit-
 ted his magistracy ; whether it was for some defect in the form of his nomination, according to some historians, or because the tribunes of the people brought in a bill, which the commons passed into a law, “ that in case M. Furius Camillus “ should exercise any part of the dictatorial office, “ he should be fined five hundred asses of brass *. ” But I am more apt to believe, that he was rather intimidated by unfavorable auspices, than by so strange and unprecedented a bill, and that both from the temper of the man, and also because P. Manlius was immediately declared dictator in his room. For what good purpose could it serve to nominate him to decide a controversy, in which M. Furius had been foiled before ? Besides the same Camillus was dictator the year following, and certainly he would not for shame have resumed an office, wherein he had been over-ruled the preceding year. Let us consider farther, that at the same time that it is said this bill was brought in for imposing a fine on him, he had it in his power either to have prevented an act, whereby he saw himself restricted in the exercise of his office, or he could not have prevented the passing of those very laws, which occasioned the preferring this bill against him. And finally, even to this day, whatever violent struggles have been between the tribunes and consuls, the dictatorial power has always been superior to both.

CHAP. DURING the interval between Camillus’s ab-
 XXXIX. dication of his former dictatorship, and Manlius’s entering upon his new one, the tribunes held an assembly of the people, as in a kind of interregnum wherein evidently appeared, which of the laws were most acceptable to the people, and which to the tribunes. For the people approved of the bills relating to usury and the distribution of lands, but rejecte

* 1614 l. 11 s. and 8 d. Arbuthnot.

that for electing one of the consuls out of the plebeian order. And they had been thus finally determined, had not the tribunes declared “ that they proposed all “ the three to be approved or rejected by the people at one vote.” After this P. Manlius the dictator cast the balance in favor of the people by nominating a plebeian, C. Licinius, who had formerly been military tribune, to be general of the horse. I find it recorded, that this step exceedingly offended the patricians ; and that the dictator was wont to excuse himself to them on account of his near relation to Licinius ; urging at the same time, “ that the “ honor of general of the horse was not so great “ as that of military tribune.” But when the day was appointed for assembling the comitia for the election of tribunes of the people, Licinius and Sextius acted with so much finesse, that by pretending they would no longer continue in that honorable station of tribunes, they inspired the people with an excessive zeal to confer on them an office which they effectually solicited by the artful manner in which they pretended to decline it. For they said, “ we “ have struggled nine years, as in a pitched battle, “ against the patricians, with the greatest danger to “ ourselves, and without any advantage to the “ public. The laws we have drawn up, and the “ whole force of the tribunician power grow antiquated with us. Our laws were first of all opposed by our colleagues ; next by sending away the youth to the war with Velitræ ; and last of all the thunder of dictatorial power has been plaid against us. Now we have neither colleagues, war, nor dictator to oppose us ; for even our present dictator hath given an omen of success in endeavoring to obtain a plebeian consul, by his appointing a commoner to be general of his horse. Now the commons alone injure themselves, and obstruct their own benefit. For they had it in their power, if they had pleased, to rid the city and forum of oppressive creditors, and get the lands out of

CHAP.

XXXIX.

“ the clutches of unjust possessors. But when would
 “ they shew a real and grateful sense of these bene-
 “ fits, if at the very time they were to obtain be-
 “ neficial laws, they cut off the persons who pro-
 “ posed them from all hopes of being advanced to
 “ offices of state? It was inconsistent with the mo-
 “ desty of the Roman people to require them-
 “ selves to be delivered from the oppression of usury,
 “ and put in possession of lands injuriously monopo-
 “ lized by the rich and powerful, while they left
 “ those old tribunes, by whose labor they obtained
 “ these benefits, not only without honors, but even
 “ without the least hope of attaining them. There-
 “ fore let them first resolve with themselves what
 “ course they would take, and then openly declare
 “ their pleasure in the tribunician comitia. If they
 “ were willing to pass the laws they had proposed
 “ conjointly, they might then chuse the same tribunes
 “ of the people again, who would certainly carry
 “ through the bills they had brought in. But if
 “ they were resolved only to pass what laws were
 “ necessary for the relief of each man in a private
 “ capacity, it would be needless to continue them
 “ in an office exposed to so much envy; and they
 “ would neither accept the tribuneship, nor should
 “ the people have the benefit of the laws they had
 “ proposed.”

CHAP.

XL.

W H I L E the rest of the senators were struck
 dumb with indignation and amazement at this auda-
 cious speech of these tribunes, Ap. Claud. Crassus
 grandson of the decemvir, is said to have stepped forth
 more out of rage and resentment, than with any hope
 of dissuading the people from complying with the
 tribunes request. The speech he made was almo-
 to this purpose. “ Romans, it will be no strange
 “ or unexpected thing, if I should now hear the usu-
 “ objection made by seditious tribunes to our family.
 “ That the Claudian family, from it's first original, has
 “ been more zealously attached to nothing in the state



“ than to advancing the dignity of the nobility, as
 “ they have always been violent enemies to the in-
 “ terest of the people. The first part of the charge I do
 “ not deny, and therefore will not go about to
 “ disprove it. For our family, ever since it's first
 “ admission into the state and number of the pa-
 “ tricians, hath always strenuously endeavored to
 “ have it in our power to say with justice, that
 “ we have rather augmented than diminished the
 “ glory of that order, into which it was your plea-
 “ sure to incorporate us. And Romans, as to the
 “ last part I dare maintain in my own and the be-
 “ half of my ancestors, that unless one will reckon
 “ what is done for the good of the commonwealth
 “ in general destructive of the interests of the peo-
 “ ple, as if they were members of a different com-
 “ munity, we have neither in our private capacity,
 “ nor during our magistracies, to our knowledge acted
 “ any thing to the disadvantage of the commons ;
 “ nor can you, consistent with truth, instance a single
 “ word or action of ours contrary to your real inte-
 “ rest, though several of them have been contrary
 “ to your desires. But suppose I was not of the
 “ Claudian family, nor patrician extraction, and on-
 “ ly a private citizen, conscious of having been
 “ born of free parents, and living in a free state,
 “ could I avoid taking notice that L. Sextius and
 “ C. Licinius, your perpetual tribunes forsooth,
 “ have for nine years, during which they have ex-
 “ ercised a despotic power over you, presumed to
 “ deny you the freedom of suffrage both in your co-
 “ mitia for elections and enacting laws? Upon certain
 “ terms, say they, you shall elect us tribunes a tenth
 “ time ! Is not this plainly saying, we so much dis-
 “ dain the offices, for which others make great in-
 “ terest, that we will not accept them without a
 “ considerable reward. But pray what is this reward, in
 “ consideration whereof we shall have you always
 “ tribunes of the people ? Their answer is, that you

CHAP.

XL.

“ accept conjointly all our bills, whether they please
 “ you or not, whether they be useful or pernicious
 “ to you ! I beseech you tribunes, who are as ab-
 “ solute as ever the Tarquins were, suppose me a
 “ single citizen to call out from the middle of the
 “ assembly, Allow us, with your good leave, to
 “ choose which of these bills we think for our be-
 “ nefit, and to reject the rest ? No, say they, we
 “ will grant no such leave. Shall you pass those re-
 “ lating to usury and the partition of lands, which
 “ concern you all in general, and yet not suffer L.
 “ Sextius and C. Licinius to be elected consuls, be-
 “ cause you cannot endure to see such a prodigy in
 “ the city of Rome, your stomach rises at it, and
 “ you cannot bear the thought ? You must lay your
 “ account with accepting all together, or we will
 “ propose none. One may as well set victuals and
 “ poison before a person ready to famish, and order
 “ him either to abstain from the real nourishment,
 “ or otherwise mix the poisonous with the wholesom
 “ food. But had this been a free state, would not
 “ many have called out to you e’re this time, Be-
 “ gone with your tribuneships and laws, if you will
 “ not propose such bills as will be beneficial for
 “ the people to accept, will no body else, do you
 “ think, propose them ? If any Patrician, if any
 “ one of the Claudian family, which they look
 “ on as still more odious, should make such a
 “ speech, Either accept all, or we will propose
 “ none, which of you Romans would bear it ?
 “ Will you never learn to regard things rather than
 “ persons ? But at all times give a favorable ear to
 “ whatever comes from the mouths of tribunes,
 “ and a deaf one to what any of our order shall
 “ say ? At best, their language is very uncivil
 “ and rude. Let us now see what kind of bill
 “ this is, which they are angry you should reject.
 “ Romans, it exactly resembles their speeches. The
 “ purport of our bill, say they, is, that you may
 “ not be allowed to chuse such consuls as you please.
 “ For what else has he in view who brings in a bill,
 “ expressly

“ exprefly ordering you to chufe one of the confuls
 “ out of the commons, and leaves you no liberty to
 “ elect two patricians. Suppose you had at this
 “ time wars as formidable as that with Hetruria,
 “ when Porfena was mafter of Janiculum, or our
 “ late one with the Gauls, when every thing, ex-
 “ cept the citadel and capitol, was in the poffeffion
 “ of enemies, and that this L. Sextius fhould ftand
 “ candidate for the confulate together with our re-
 “ nowned M. Furius or any other patrician ; could
 “ you bear to think Sextius fhould infallibly fucceed,
 “ and Camillus run the hazard of being rejected ?
 “ Is this to beftow honors on both orders indiffe-
 “ rently, to allow two plebeians, but not two pa-
 “ tricians, to be elected confuls ; to impofe a neces-
 “ fity of chufing a commoner one of the confuls,
 “ and leave you at liberty to pafs over the patricians
 “ in the choice of both ? What fort of fellowfhip,
 “ what kind of partnership is this ? Are you not
 “ content, when you come in for a fhare of what
 “ you enjoyed no portion of before, unlefs, in fue-
 “ ing for a part, you grasp the whole ? We are
 “ afraid, fay the tribunes, if you are left at liberty
 “ to chufe two patricians, you may never elect a
 “ plebeian.” Is not this in effect faying, fince,
 “ when left to yourfelves, you will not make an un-
 “ worthy choice, we will impofe on you the neces-
 “ fity of chufing perfons difagreeable to you ? What
 “ will be the confequence ? But, that if one ple-
 “ beian fhall appear candidate with two patricians,
 “ he may fay, he lies under no obligation to the
 “ people, becaufe he was not elected by their fuf-
 “ frages, but by virtue of a pofitive law.”

“ Thus they feek means of extorting, not fueing
 “ for honorable offices ; they want to obtain the
 “ higheft employments, without being in the leaft in-
 “ debted to you for the loweft ; and chufe rather to
 “ be advanced to honors by watching favorable op-
 “ portunities, than by virtue and merit .Is there any

CHAP.

XLI.



“ one, who disdains to have his character enquired
 “ into, or his merit canvassed ? who thinks it rea-
 “ sonable, that he alone should be sure of attaining
 “ honors, among a crowd of competitors who con-
 “ tend for them ? who will not acquiesce in what
 “ you shall determine ? and make your suffrages in-
 “ stead of voluntary, necessary, and of free; con-
 “ strained ? I speak not of Licinius and Sextius, the
 “ years of whose perpetual power you mark in the
 “ capitol, as those of the kings were wont to be.
 “ Who is there at this day in the state of so mean
 “ condition as not to have, by means of this law,
 “ easier access to the consulate, than we or our po-
 “ sterity ? For you will not have it in your power
 “ sometimes to chuse us even when you have an in-
 “ clination to do it, but will be under a necessity of
 “ electing them, whether you will or not. But I
 “ have said enough of the indignity offered us by this
 “ law, and truly every man ought to stand up in
 “ defence of his honor ; but what can I say in re-
 “ lation to the abuse of our religious rites and au-
 “ spices, which is an immediate contempt of and
 “ offence against the immortal Gods ? Who knows
 “ not, that this city was founded by auspices, that
 “ all things relating to peace or war, civil or mili-
 “ tary, are transacted under their direction ? In whose
 “ hands are they, according to the ancient usages of
 “ our ancestors ? Certainly in those of the fathers.
 “ For the auspices are never consulted in order to the
 “ election of a plebeian magistrate. Yea so peculiar
 “ are they to us, that the people cannot without them
 “ elect such patrician magistrates as are chosen by
 “ them, but we may duly nominate an interrex,
 “ wherein the people have no voice ; and we have
 “ auspices in private life, which they have not even
 “ in the election of their magistrates. He, there-
 “ fore, in effect takes away the auspices from the
 “ state, who, by creating plebeian consuls, takes
 “ them away from the patricians, who only have
 “ a just title to them. Let them now deride

“ our

“ our religious rites. For say they, what signifies
 “ it, whether the chickens eat, whether they come
 “ slowly out of their coops, or whether the birds
 “ sing inauspiciously. These are mere trifles. Yet
 “ by not despising such trifling observances, our an-
 “ cestors have raised this state to her present pitch of
 “ greatness. And now we profane all these ceremo-
 “ nies, as if we stood in no need of the favor of
 “ the Gods. Therefore let our high priests, augurs,
 “ and kings of the sacrifices be chosen out of the
 “ dregs of the people. Let us place the sacerdotal
 “ bonnet on the head of any man, no matter whose,
 “ so he be a man; let us entrust the care of the sa-
 “ cred bucklers, awful sanctuaries, the Gods and all
 “ that belong to them, with those to whom it
 “ would be impious to give such a charge. Let us
 “ leave off taking the auspices in order to the pas-
 “ sing laws, or electing magistrates. Nay let us de-
 “ prive the senate of their right of giving a sanction
 “ to the acts of the comitia by centuries. Let Sex-
 “ tius and Licinius, as Romulus and Tatius for-
 “ merly did, reign absolute in Rome, for having re-
 “ mitted debts not their own, and given grants of
 “ lands they had no right to. So great is the plea-
 “ sure of preying upon other men’s estates! Nor do
 “ you consider, that by one law, you will convert
 “ many fields into deserts, by ejecting landlords from
 “ their possessions, and by the other, ruin public
 “ credit, and with it all civil society. In regard
 “ therefore, to all these weighty considerations, I
 “ think, you ought to reject these bills. And I pray
 “ the Gods prosper whatever you do.”

CHAP.

XLI.

A L L the effect Appius’s speech had, was, that
 the passing of these bills into laws was deferred for
 some time. Sextius and Licinius were continued
 tribunes of the people a tenth time and got a law
 passed for electing ten keepers of the sacred books,
 half of them plebeians, and half patricians, which
 seemed to them a step towards attaining the consulate.

Contented

CHAP.

XLII.

CHAP. XLII. Contented with this victory, the commons yielded to the patricians, and without making at the time any mention of the consulate, agreed to the election of military tribunes. The persons chosen were A. and M. Cornelii a second, M. Geganius, P. Manlius, L. Veturius, and P. Valerius a sixth time. At this time the Roman affairs abroad were all in profound tranquillity, except the siege of Velitræ, the issue whereof was more slow than doubtful, sudden advice was brought of a war with the Gauls, which obliged the state to raise M. Furius to the dictatorship a fifth time. He nominated T. Quinctius Pennus general of horse. Claudius ^a says, that the Romans gave the Gauls battle this year near the river Anio, and that there was a famous combat then fought upon the bridge, wherein T. Manlius, in fight of both armies, slew a Gaul, who had challenged him, and after he was dead stript him of his gold chain. But the testimony of a greater number of historians induces me to believe, that this exploit was performed no less than ten years later. But in this year the Gauls and Romans, under the command of their dictator M. Furius, came to an engagement in the Alban territories. And the latter, without great difficulty, gained a complete victory, although the remembrance of their former defeat ^b, had made them greatly afraid of the Gauls. Many of the enemy were slain in the battle, and many at the taking of their camp. The remainder, being dispersed, especially those who took the road to Apulia, saved themselves from their enemy, both by the great distance they fled to, and also by scattering up and down the country through fear and consternation. The honor of a triumph was granted to the dictator, by the general consent of the senators and people. But he had scarce given the finishing blow to this war, when he was welcomed home by a sedition still more dangerous. For after many hard struggles the dictat

Forty-ninth
mil. trib.
A. and M.
Cornelii,
M. Gegani-
us, P. Man-
lius, L. Ve-
turius and
P. Valerius.
Y. of R. 386.
B. J. C. 366.

M. Furius,
dictator,
T. Quinctius
Pennus,
general of
horse.

^a This Roman Annalist's beautiful description of that combat may be seen in A. Gell. book ix. chap. i.
^b At Allia.

and senate were worsted, and forced to accept the bills proposed by the tribunes. And maugre the opposition of the nobility, the assembly was held for the election of consuls, wherein L. Sextius, the first commoner raised to that dignity, was chosen consul. But their contests did not end here. For, whereas the fathers refused to confirm the election, the matter came to that pass, that the commons were on the point of making a secession, and uttered nothing but dreadful menaces of a civil war. However by means of the dictator, the discords were appeased upon these conditions, that the nobility should yield to the commons the point of having power to chuse one of the consuls of their own order, and that the people should allow the patricians to elect a prætor^a, who should be the sole judge and dispenser of justice in the city. Thus at length, after the most violent animosities, the two orders being perfectly reconciled, the senate cheerfully came to a resolution, “that it was meet,” in gratitude to the immortal Gods, and truly if ever they had good reason before, now especially they had, “to celebrate the great^b games, and

^a The word *Prætor* signifies commander, and was originally given to all magistrates who administered justice, or had the command of armies, according to Varro, 4. de LL. and after him Nonnius chap. i. The consuls were vested with both civil and military authority; but being hereby harassed with a multiplicity of affairs, and often obliged to be absent, in time of war, from the city, the patricians at this time prevailed with the people to institute the office of *Prætor*. This magistrate was chosen out of their own order, and had the administration of justice confided to him. To him were added about one hundred and twenty years after, when Rome had grown considerably more populous, and many strangers had come to reside there, the *Prætor Urbanus* and *Prætor Peregrinus*. The office of the first was to decide the differences between citizens, and the last determined causes between citizens and strangers. Some time after they had a court of justice appointed subordinate to them, the members

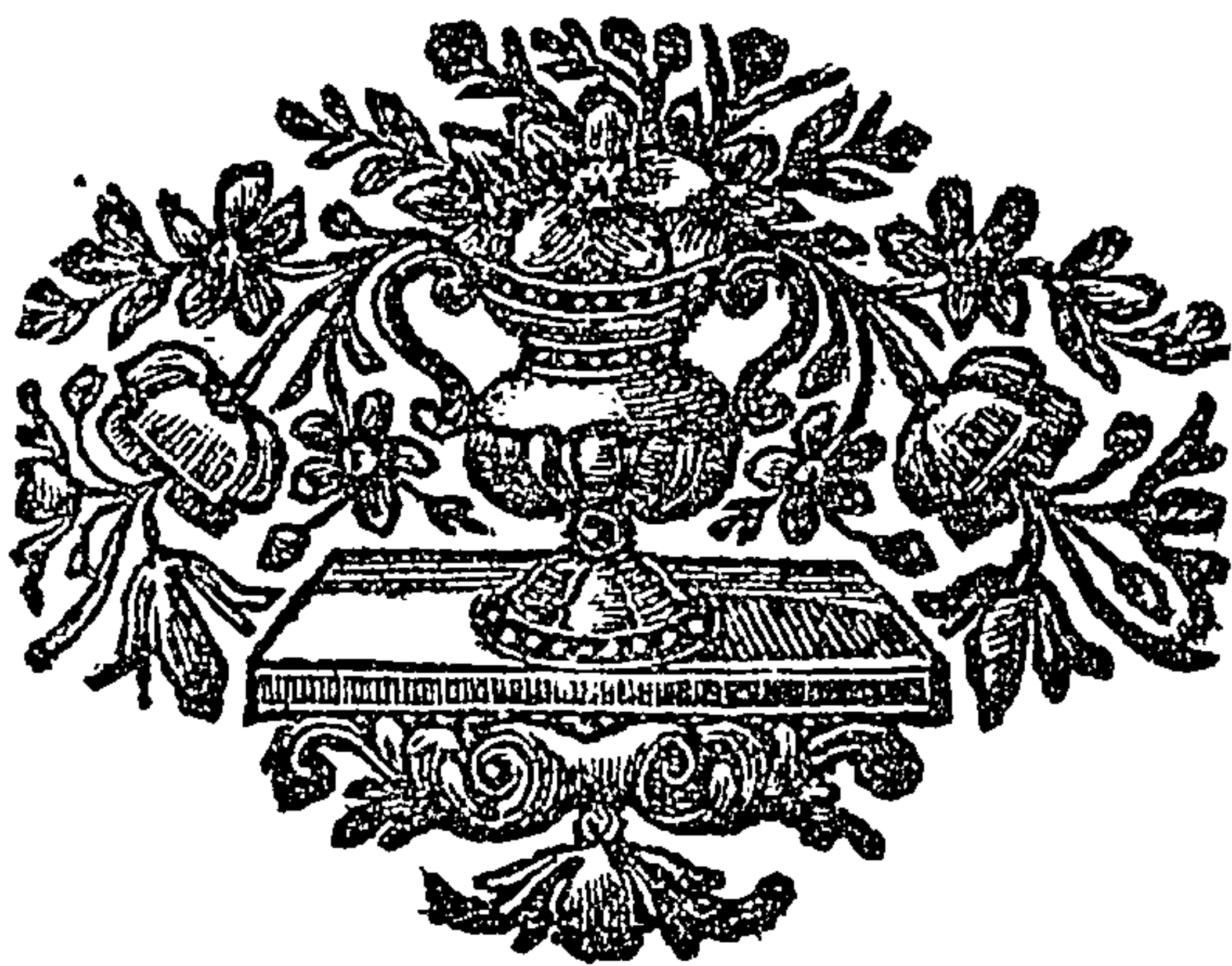
whereof were chosen out of the then twenty-five tribes, five out of each, and were called *Centumviri*, a name they retained when their number was augmented to one hundred and eighty. At first the *Prætor* referred only trivial causes to them, but under the emperors the most important were tried at their bar. *Prætors* were likewise appointed for the administration of justice in the provinces. Their number increased in proportion to the Roman conquests. The *Prætors* held their office one year, were chosen in the comitia by centuries, had their provinces determined by lot, and had almost the same ensigns of honor as the consuls to whom they were subordinate in the field. The *Prætor* of the city, in absence of the consuls, supplied their place, and presided in the senate. Their power lasted till the passing of the Sempronian war.

^b These games had hitherto been called *magni*, but now they got the name of *maximi*,

CHAP. “ to add one day more to the three, during which
 XLII. “ they used formerly to last.” But the ædiles of
 the people refusing to perform that office, the young
 patricians with one voice cried out, “ that, for the
 “ service of the immortal Gods, they would willing-
 “ ly take that honor upon them, provided they
 “ might be appointed ædiles.” Upon which they re-
 ceived the general thanks, and the senate decreed,
 “ that the dictator should make a motion to the
 “ people, for their electing two patricians to be
 “ ædiles^a, and that the fathers should ratify the
 “ acts passed in all the comitia held that year.”

^a These were called curule ædiles, and the repairs of the city walls; because they had the honor to sit in curule chairs, which the plebeian ædiles had not. Their business was also that no novelty was introduced into religion; and in after times they had the inspection over books that were published, and pieces written for the stage.

End of the SIXTH BOOK.



T H E
 ROMAN HISTORY,
 BY
 TITUS LIVIUS of *Padua*.

B O O K VII.

Two new magistracies added, the prætorship and the curule ædileship. The city distressed by a pestilence memorable for the death of Furius Camillus. While they endeavour to find a remedy for this calamity, and to put an end to it by the institution of some new religious rites, stage-plays first introduced. M. Pomponius, tribune of the people, appoints L. Manlius a day to take his trial, for the arbitrary manner in which he had raised the levies, and for banishing his son, who had been guilty of no crime. This young man, whose banishment was laid to his father's charge, comes into the tribune's bed-chamber, and with his drawn sword obliges him to swear, that he would not proceed in his impeachment against his father. All the country very much terrified with the opening of the earth, and all the precious things of the city of Rome thrown into the wide gap. Curtius armed and mounted on horseback drives headlong into it, and the gap is filled up. T. Manlius, the young man who had rescued his father from the prosecution of the tribune, engages a Gaul, who had challenged the Roman soldiers to fight him in single combat, kills him, and takes from him a gold chain, which he afterwards wore, and thence called Torquatus. Two tribes added, Pontina and Publilia. Licinius Stolo condemned by a law of his own making, because he possessed more than five hundred acres of land. M. Valerius, military tribune, kills a Gaul who had challenged him, during the combat a crow, perching on the Gaul's helmet, scratched him with his bill and claws, and from that Valerius receives the surname of Corvus, and upon account of his bravery, was chosen consul the next year, when he was but twenty-three years of age. An alliance concluded with the Carthaginians. The Campani being greatly distressed by a war with the Samnites, beg assistance of the senate against their enemies; but as they did not obtain it, deliver up their city and their lands to the Roman people, who

who immediately resolve to defend what was now become their own property against the Samnites. The army led into a disadvantageous place by A. Cornelius the consul, is in great danger, and delivered from it by P. Decius Mus, military tribune, who gaining possession of a little hill overlooking the place where the Samnites had posted themselves, gave the consul an opportunity to get upon fair ground, and being beset by the enemy, broke through them. The Roman soldiers, who had been left in garrison at Capua, form a conspiracy to make themselves masters of that city; and their design taking air, for fear of punishment, revolt from the Romans: by the advice of M. Valerius Corvus, they are recovered from their frenzy, and restored to their country. This book also contains the victories obtained over the Hernici, the Gauls, Tiburtes, Privernates, Tarquinienfes, Samnites, and the Volsci.

CHAP. I. **T**HIS year was remarkable for the consulship of a man who was the first nobleman of his family^a, and for the institution of two magistracies, the prætorship and curule ædileship^b; both which honorable offices the patricians obtained for yielding the power of chusing one consul from among the commons. The people conferred the consulate upon L. Sextius, who had preferred the law by which they had gained this privilege. The senators, by their interest at the election, got the prætorship for Sp. Furius, the son of M. Camillus, and the ædileship for Cn. Quintius Capitolinus, and P. Cornelius Scipio, all men of their own rank. L. Æmilius Mamercinus was the patrician appointed colleague to L. Sextius. In the beginning of the year there were frequent reports, that the Gauls, after having ranged up and down Apulia for some time, were forming themselves into a body, and that the Hernici had revolted. However, they put off the consideration of every thing, on purpose, that a plebeian consul might have no opportunity of acting, and all manner of business was as much at a stand, as if there had been a vacation of the courts of justice. But

L. Sextius
and L. Æ-
milius Ma-
mercinus
consuls.
Y. of R. 387.
B. J. C. 365.

^a The privilege of exposing publicly the images of their ancestors was a mark of nobility among the Romans, but it was never granted but to those who held great posts, and for that reason, he who was

raised to the curule offices the first of his family, and could produce no portrait but his own, was called a *novus homo*.

^b See vol. i. p. 311. note ^b, and p. 220. of this vol. note ^a.

this quiet was soon disturbed by the tribunes, who were uneasy upon seeing that the nobility, instead of one plebeian consul, had got three patrician magistrates, adorned with the prætexta, and seated in curule chairs, with all the dignity of consuls, and that the prætor who was one of them should administer justice, and, being created under the same auspices with the consuls, acted as their colleague. This made the senators ashamed to insist upon having the curule ædiles chosen from among the patricians. Wherefore they agreed at first that they should be chosen from among the commons every other year, but after that they were elected promiscuously. The next year, L. Genucius and Q. Servilius were consuls; the city was neither disturbed by foreign wars nor domestic seditions, but that it might not entirely be free from fear and danger, a terrible plague broke out in it. It is said, that a censor, a curule ædile, and three tribunes of the people died of it, and that the mortality among the commons was no less in proportion to their number. But that which made this plague most remarkable, was the death of M. Furius Camillus, who was universally lamented, though he died in an advanced age. For he was really a most excellent man in every condition of life: he was the chief person in the state both in peace and war, before his banishment; but his glory received an additional lustre from his exile, both by the want which Rome had of him; for after it was taken by the enemy, it implored his assistance; and also from his good fortune, by which being restored to his country, he restored his country to itself. After this restoration, during the space of twenty-five years, for he lived so long after, he maintained a character suitable to his high renown, and was deservedly reckoned worthy to be esteemed the second founder of the city after Romulus.

CHAP.

I.

L. Genucius
us and Q.
Servilius
consuls.
Y. of R. 383.
B. J. C. 364.

THE plague continued to rage this year and the following, during the consulate of C. Sulpicius Peti-

CHAP.

II.

cus

CHAP.

II.

C. Sulpicius
Peticius and
C. Licinius
Stolo con-
suls.

Y. of R. 389.
B. J. C. 363.

cus and C. Licinius Stolo. And all this time, nothing remarkable happened, but in order to obtain mercy of the Gods, a public entertainment, called *lectisternium*^a, was made for them, which was the third regale of this kind that had been made since the founding of the city. But when the violence of the plague was neither abated by human prudence nor divine assistance, superstition having engrossed their minds, among other methods which they took to appease the incensed deities, they are said likewise to have instituted the games called *scenici*^b, which was a diversion quite new to a warlike people, who before this time had none but those of the circus. These theatrical representations, like the beginnings of most other things, were at first inconsiderable, and in fact borrowed from foreigners. For actors were sent for from *Hetruria*, who, without verses, or any thing in imitation of them, danced^c, not ungracefully, after the *Tuscan* manner, to the flute^d. In process of

^a See book v. chap. xiii. p. 76. note ^a.

^b These scenic shews took their name from the Greek word *σκηνη*, which signifies a shady place, a tent, a pavilion, an arbor or branches of trees, with which the ancients covered their stages, to shade the actors. Afterwards the scene of the theatre of the ancients signified all those buildings which were represented to the spectators on the stage, and which were adorned with decorations which *Vitruvius* calls scenes.

^c As the design of music and dancing is to give life and sprightliness to entertainments, they always made a part of the diversions of the ancients. They likewise made them a part of their religious worship, and their festivals and sacrifices were generally accompanied with harmony. The theatrical shews among the Greeks, were nothing but hymns sung in honor of *Bacchus*, and accompanied with immodest dances. And at *Rome* the scenical shews were originally nothing but a jumble of licentious songs and comical distortions of body, accompanied with the flute. There

are reckoned to have been three sorts of dances originally upon the ancient theatre, the tragical, comical and satyrical. The first called *ἐμμετριον*, on account of the decency of it's motions and gestures, expressed the seriousness and loftiness of tragedy. The second was called *Cordax*, from a satyr of that name, who passed for the inventor of it. It was so loose and obscene, that it was not fit to be used by any but professed buffoons, and persons who had lost all modesty. The *Sicennus* was a dumb representation of the jests and poignant reflections of satyrical pieces in pleasant gestures. These three sorts of dances were all united by the pantomimes, who brought the art to great perfection, and were thought the best dancers on the stage.

^d The flute was the instrument the Romans most frequently used in theatrical entertainments. The ancients boast much of the agreeableness of it's harmony. They give it the name of *Tibia*, to distinguish it from two other rural instruments, which *Virgil* calls *Fistula* and *Avena*. *Horace*,

of time, the Roman youth began to imitate these farces, intermixing raillery in unpolished verses, their gestures corresponding to the sense of the words. Thus were these plays received at Rome, and being improved by frequent performance, the Roman actors got the name of *Histriones*, from the Tuscan word *Hister*, which signifies a stage-player. But they did not throw unpremeditated, extempore and irregular jests at one another, in such loose and indecent verses as were used by the *Fescennini*^c, but acted satyrs^f, interspersed with harmonious measures, set to the

in his art of poetry, makes a difference between the flutes which were first invented, and those used in his time. The ancient flute, says he, was not yet adorned with brass. It was small and simple, and had but few holes. It was not so loud as the trumpet, but charmed the ear with its delightful sweetness. *Tibia non ut nunc, &c.* The double flute which succeeded this, has hitherto been a riddle which the learned have in vain endeavored to explain. It consisted of two tubes, which were so joined together, as to have but one mouth. These double flutes are called by the ancients, *Tibiæ dextræ & sinistræ*, and *Tibiæ pares & impares*. That which the musician played on with his right hand, was therefore called *Tibia dextra*, i. e. the right handed flute; and, on the contrary, that which he played on with his left hand, *Tibia sinistra*, i. e. the left handed flute. The former had but few holes, and sounded a deep serious base; the other had more holes, and a sharper and more lively tone. The flutes of different sorts were called *Tibiæ impares*, i. e. unequal flutes; or *Tibiæ dextræ & sinistræ*, i. e. right and left handed flutes. When two right or two left handed flutes were joined together, they were called *Tibiæ pares dextræ*, or *Tibiæ pares sinistræ*. The Lydian flutes were the same as the right handed flutes; and the Tyrian flutes, or *Tibiæ Sarranæ*, the same as the left handed. In a word, the flutes which had the same shape, dimensions, tones, and holes, were therefore called equal flutes. But

how the union of two equal and two unequal flutes could make a concert, by unisons, thirds, octaves, &c. we leave to the masters of the art to explain.

^c They were the inhabitants of Fescennia, an ancient city of *Hetruria*. *Ortelius* places it where *Cita Castellano* now stands. But according to *Cluver*, it stood at a little distance from the *Tyber*, below *Falerii*, where *Galézé* now stands. The people of this place were the inventors of a sort of doggrel or loose verses, which were a jumble of insipid jests, mixed with all sorts of ribaldry. Hence the name of *versus Fescennini* was given to licentious verses.

^f There is no doubt but the name is derived from *Satura* full; the *u* being changed into an *y*. *Satura* being an adjective, must be supposed to relate to the substantive *Lanx*, a platter or charger; such as they filled yearly with all sorts of fruit, and offered to the Gods at their festivals, as the *primitiæ*, or first gatherings of the season. Such an expression might be well applied to this kind of poem, which was full of various matter, and written on different subjects. The satyr was a poignant sort of poetry, which had all the agreeableness of the *Fescennine* verses, without the obscenity of them. They were repeated on the Roman stage with due cadences, and in true time, i. e. were accompanied with music and dancing. Buffoons metamorphosed into *Silenus's*, *Bacchus's*, &c. acted their parts in these pieces, which at first supplied the place of the drama among

CHAP. II. the flute, and repeated with suitable gestures. And some years after, Livius Andronicus first ventured to abandon satyrs, and write regular plays. He acted his own pieces, as all authors did at that time; but being hoarse with being oft called upon by the spectators to repeat them, he is said to have asked their consent, that a boy should sing to the flute, and upon this he in his action imitated what was sung with somewhat more vigor and activity, as he was no longer obliged to use his voice. Then the players began to have persons at hand to sing to them, while they only acted their parts dialogue-wise. But after these farces, which afforded the people subject of loose mirth and laughter, were, by this regulation, reduced to form, and playing grew by degrees into an art, the Roman youth left them to be acted by the common players^g, and began, as formerly, to act farces at the end of their regular plays. These pieces were ever after called *exodia*^h, and were most commonly interwoven with the *Atellane*ⁱ comedies. These kind of plays were borrowed from

among the Romans, till the stage was improved, and it's entertainments became more regular. From these sprung the other kind of satyrical poetry; the design of which was to decry vice, inspire men with the love of virtue, and teach them how to make a good use of their reason. Horace and Juvenal have particularly excelled in this kind of poetry.

^g The profession of an actor was honorable among the Greeks, but among the Romans it was infamous, and unworthy of an honest man. The professed actors could not be incorporated in any tribe, and consequently had no right of suffrage, and were excluded from offices civil and military. A senator who appeared upon the stage was degraded, and a Roman knight lost his privileges. An actress was infamous, and subject to the same laws as common prostitutes. Ulp. B. ii. Par. v. *de iis qui infamiâ notantur*. But the actors of the *Atellanæ* were excepted in this law, so that the Roman nobility confined these performances to themselves.

^h Some will have them to have been so called, *quasi ἔξω τῆς ὁδοῦ, extra viam*; others, *ἔξω τῆς ὠδῆς, extracantum*. Sigonius, regarding only the first etymology, says, *Exode* and *Episode* are the same thing, so called, because they belong not to the pieces in which they are inserted. But Festus generally takes *exodium* for *exitum*; and Nonnius from Varro for *finem*, *ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξόδου*. In this place it's taken for what Firmicus calls *exitum fabellarum*, because when the players went off, they were acted by a company of Roman youth.

ⁱ *Atella* lay, according to Cluver, in Campania, between Naples and Capua, in the neighbourhood of *Aversa*. This city gave name to the pieces called *Atellanæ*, which the Romans afterwards adopted. This sort of poetry was originally nothing but a collection of impure conceits and lascivious tales, without order or design. But the Roman stage brought it a little into shape, and made it more regular and chaste.

the *Osci*^k, and were always acted by the Roman youth, who would not allow them to be disgraced by professed actors having any part in them, for fear of prostituting them. And hence it hath been a rule for those who acted these pieces, not to be degraded from their tribe, and they were admitted to serve in the army, as if they had never appeared on the stage. Among other things, I thought it proper to give the reader this account of the rise of the Roman drama, that he may see how these shews from moderate beginnings arrived to a pitch of extravagance, hardly to be tolerated in wealthy kingdoms.

CHAP.
II.

BUT though the entertainments of the stage were instituted to appease the wrath of heaven, they neither freed the peoples minds from superstition, nor delivered their bodies from the plague. For when the shews were half ended, the Tyber overflowed its banks, and put a stop to them. This occasioned a terrible consternation, and the Romans concluded, that the Gods were offended at them, and rejected all the endeavors by which they sought to appease them. For this reason, Cn. Genucius, and L. Æmilius Mamercinus, for the second time being consuls, when the inventing of new expiations gave their minds more uneasiness than the distemper gave their bodies, the old people remembered that the plague had formerly been stopped by the dictator's driving a nail. This prevailed on the senate to revive that ceremony, and they ordered a dictator to be chosen to perform it. L. Manlius Imperiosus^a was the person pitched upon, who appointed L. Pinarius his general of the horse. There is an old law written in ancient characters and obsolete

CHAP.
III.

Cn. Genucius
us, and L.
Æmilius
Mamercinus
consuls.
Y. of R. 390.
B. J. C. 362.

L. Manlius
Imperiosus
dictator, L.
Pinarius ge-
neral of
horse.

^k This people, originally of Campania, were a part of the ancient Ausones, who gave their name to Italy. They were anciently called *O-pici*, and, by contraction, *Obsci*; whence, say the etymologists, the word *Obscænus* came, because these people had the character of being as

licentious in their discourses, as they were lewd in manners. According to Tacitus, some pieces called *Atellanæ*, were acted in his time, which were written in the spirit and language of the old *Osci*.

^a He was so called from his haughty imperious temper.

CHAP. III. Latin words, which enjoins him, who is vested with the supreme power, to drive a nail every year into this wall on the thirteenth of september. It was driven into the right side of the temple of Jupiter, O. M. where it was joined to the temple of Minerva. And because the Romans had very little learning in these early ages, 'tis said they used this nail^b to mark down the number of their years, and that the law which appointed it to be done, had been dedicated to Minerva, because numbers were invented by that Goddess. Cincius, a diligent searcher into antiquities of this kind, affirms, that they marked the number of their years at Volsinii^c by nails which they drove into the temple of Nortia^d, a Tuscan Goddess. M. Horatius the consul dedicated the temple of Jupiter O. M. the first year after the expulsion of kings. Afterwards the ceremony of driving this nail was transferred from the consuls to the dictators, because theirs was an office of superior dignity. And some time after, the custom having been discontinued, it was thought a matter of such consequence, that a dictator ought to be created to renew it. For this purpose, they nominated L. Manlius. But he, as if he had been appointed to fight for the republic, and not solely to perform her religious ceremonies, was ambitious to command an army against the Hernici, and with this view he plagued the youth by the violence he used in raising the levies. At length all the tribunes of the people rose to oppose him, so that he was obliged either through force or shame to abdicate his office.

L. Manlius
dictator.

CHAP. IV. NEVERTHELESS, in the beginning of the following year, Q. Servilius Ahala and L. Genucius for the second time being consuls, M. Pomponius,

^b For this reason, this nail was called *Clavus Annalis*, or the annual nail. The country people reckoned their own and their children's age by nails, which they drove into the walls of their cottages. See *Petron. Satyr. c. 59.*

^c A town of *Hetruria*.

^d *Martianus Capella*, chap. ix. observes, that the *Hetrurians* gave the name of *Nortia* to fortune or chance. And *Juvenal*, speaking of *Sejanus*, a native of *Hetruria*, *Sat. x.* explains this term in the same manner.

Q. Servilius
Ahalá, and
L. Genuci-
us, consuls.
Y. of R. 391.
B. J. C. 361.

tribune of the people, appointed Manlius a day to take his trial. The cruelty he had exercised on his fellow-citizens in raising the levies, had made him odious; for besides the loss which many of them had sustained by confiscation of their goods, several of them had had their bodies miserably mangled, and some of those who had not answered to their names, he had whipt with rods, and others he had put in irons; but that which chiefly raised their indignation against him, was his boisterous inflexible temper, and the surname of Imperiosus, (imperious or lordly) a title intolerable in a free state, as he had got it from the open boast he made of his cruelty, which he exercised with the same licentiousness on strangers, relations, and on those descended of his own body. For besides other articles of impeachment brought against him, the tribune charged him “ with banishing his own son, a young
“ man convicted of nothing criminal, from the city,
“ from his house, household Gods, the forum, the
“ light and the company and conversation of his
“ equals, confining him almost as closely as if he
“ was shut up in a prison, or house of correction,
“ and obliging him to do all manner of servile work,
“ where this young man, born of the highest quali-
“ ty, and a dictator’s son, might learn from the mi-
“ series which he daily suffered, that he was descend-
“ ed from a father who was truly imperious. What
“ was his crime? None, but being slow in speech, and
“ not very eloquent. And ought not a father, if he
“ had the least spark of humanity in him, to endea-
“ vour rather to remedy this natural defect by gentle
“ methods, than punish it and make it remarkably
“ worse, by cruel usage?” He added, “ that
“ dumb beasts cherish and bring up their young ones
“ that happen to be deformed, as carefully as those
“ that are without any blemish. But that L. Man-
“ lius, by his severity, increased his son’s defects,
“ and even smothered his slow parts; and if he
“ had any small share of natural endowments, ex-

“tinguished them by confining him among beasts,
“and educating him among illiterate clowns.”

CHAP.

v.



THESE accusations almost fired every body with resentment against him, except his son, who being extremely uneasy to find that his father was exposed to the envy and accusations on his account, that God and men might know, that he chose rather to assist his father than his enemies, formed a resolution, which, though it proceeded from a mind rude and ill formed, and might be considered as a dangerous precedent in a well governed state, was highly commendable, for the example it set of filial duty and affection. He took a knife, and without communicating his design to any body, set out in the morning for the city, and went straight from the gate to M. Pomponius the tribune; he told the porter, that he wanted to speak with his master immediately, and desired him to inform him that he was T. Manlius, the son of Lucius. He was immediately introduced to the tribune, who imagined that he was highly exasperated against his father, and that he was either come with some fresh accusation against him, or to give him some information how to proceed with the impeachment. After the usual compliments, he told him that he had something to communicate to him in private, and when every body was retired, he drew out his knife, and standing with it drawn over the tribune's bed, threatened to run him through with it directly, if he did not swear “that he would never hold an
“assembly of the people on purpose to accuse his
“father.” The tribune was in the utmost consternation upon seeing the knife glittering before his face, and finding himself alone, unarmed, the young man stronger than he, and, which made him more terrible, foolishly vain of his strength, was obliged to take the oath; and from this time, he openly declared, that he had been compelled through force to desist from the prosecution. And though the commons eagerly desired to give their votes on this
cruel

cruel imperious man, who had been arraigned before them, yet they were not sorry that the son had dared to make this bold attempt in behalf of his father. But that which increased the merit of the action, was, that the harsh treatment which he had suffered from his father, had not in the least diminished the young man's regard and affection. For this reason, the father not only got off from his trial, but it likewise derived honor upon the son. For it being resolved that year for the first time to appoint military tribunes to command the legions by the suffrages of the people, whom the generals had formerly named, as they now do those who are called *Rufuli*^a, he was nominated second among the six that were appointed, though as he had lived in the country, retired from all commerce with mankind, he had done nothing, either in peace or war, to merit the favor of the people.

CHAP.
V.
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THIS year too, the middle of the forum, occasioned either by an earthquake, or some other violent shock, is said to have sunk down a far way, and to have left a prodigious cavity, which could not be filled up with earth, though every body brought some to throw into it, till by the advice of the Gods, they began to enquire in what the chief strength of the Romans consisted. For the soothsayers declared, that whatever that was, must be devoted to be thrown into that place, if they desired that the Roman republic should be perpetual. While they seemed to deliberate whether bravery and arms were the most valuable things Rome was mistress of, Metius Curtius, a young man who had distinguished himself by his valor in war, is said to have upbraided them for making any doubt about it. And after a profound silence, Curtius turned his eyes, sometimes to the capitol and the temples of the immortal Gods, which overlooked the forum, and sometimes

CHAP.  
VI.  
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^a These tribunes were so called, author of the law which impowered from the name of *Rutilius Rufus*, the general to name them.

CHAP.

VI.

stretching out his hands to heaven, and at other times to the infernal deities, through that vast cavity, devoted himself. Having done this, it is reported that he put on his armor, and, being mounted on a horse equipped with the utmost magnificence, drove into the gulph, where corn and other offerings were heaped upon him by numbers of men and women, and that the lake Curtius took it's name from this hero, and not from Metius Curtius, the soldier of T. Tatius. I would have spared no pains to have come at the truth of this account, if in my researches I could have found any vouchers that could have led me to any certainty about it; but where the antiquity of the fact makes this impossible, in that case we must be content with tradition. Besides, it is more honorable to refer the name to the latter Curtius. The same year, after the expiation of this terrible prodigy, heralds were sent to the Hernici to demand restitution of goods, and, upon their refusal, the senate resolved to refer the declaration of that war to the people the first opportunity, and they commanded it to be proclaimed in a full assembly. That province had fallen to the consul Genucius by lot. The public was very attentive to his conduct, because he was the first plebeian consul, who was to carry on a war with an army under his own command, and they were sensible, that, according to the event of the expedition, men would judge that that honor had been well or ill bestowed upon those of that order. It happened that Genucius advanced with great eagerness against the enemy, and fell inconsiderately into an ambuscade. The consul was surrounded by a body of men, who did not know him, and was slain, after his legions, being surprized with the sudden fright, had been put to the rout. When the news of this defeat was brought to Rome, the grief of the patricians were not so great for the public calamity, as their pride was raised by the unhappy conduct of this plebeian consul. They exclaimed in all places, and bid them “ go and choose plebeian consuls, and transfer
“ the

“ the auspices to profane persons. They said the pa-
 “ tricians might be driven from the honors which
 “ solely belonged to them by the decrees of the com-
 “ mons, and asked, if this law, made without the
 “ auspices, had been good against the immortal Gods?
 “ No! they had vindicated their own authority,
 “ and their auspices. That the auspices had no
 “ sooner been used by a person who was debarred
 “ from them by the laws of Gods and men, but
 “ the general and his army had been cut off, as a
 “ lesson to them to hold no more of those comitia,
 “ in which no regard was had to the distinct rights
 “ of families.” The senate and the forum rung
 with these discourses. As Appius had dissuaded
 the Romans from passing the law, he now condemn-
 ed, with the greater justice, the bad success of a
 measure which he had opposed, and for that reason
 Servilius the consul, with the consent of the patrici-
 ans, chose him dictator. A levy was ordered to be
 made, and a vacation of the courts of justice pro-
 claimed.

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VI.App. Claud.
dictator.

BEFORE the dictator and the new raised legions
 could march against the Hernici, the troops, com-
 manded by Sulpicius as lieutenant-general, found an
 opportunity of fighting them successfully. For after
 killing the consul, as they were advancing with an air
 of contempt to the Roman camp, in full confidence of
 being able to take it, Servilius encouraging his men,
 who were fired with resentment, and provoked at the
 affront put upon them, made a sally upon the Her-
 nici, who were so far disappointed in their design
 of coming up to the rampart, that their ranks were
 immediately broken, and they were obliged to re-
 treat in confusion. When the dictator arrived, the
 new raised troops joined the other, and the forces
 were doubled. The dictator harangued his army,
 commended Sulpicius and his men for their bravery
 in defending the camp, and by giving them their
 due praises, enflamed their courage, and excited the
 other

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other legions to emulate their gallant behaviour. The enemy were no less active in their preparations, being mindful of the glory they had lately acquired; and as they knew that the Roman army was reinforced, they likewise augmented their troops. All the Hernician name, who were of age to bear arms, were raised. They levied four hundred and eight cohorts, which were the choicest of their forces, and the flower of their youth. And to excite their hopes and courage, they had resolved to give them double pay. They likewise exempted them from all the laborious offices in the army, and they were reserved for the toil of one single battle, to convince them that they ought to exert a more than common courage on that occasion. When the army was drawn up, they had the post of honor, that their bravery might be the more conspicuous. A plain about two miles in length separated the camps of the Romans and Hernici, about the middle of which the armies engaged. The victory at first was doubtful, and the Roman cavalry with all their fury tried several times in vain to break the enemy's lines. But having often renewed their charge with the same ill success, they first consulted the dictator, and, upon leave given, dismounted, set up a shout, posted themselves in the first line, and begun the battle afresh. And the Hernici would not have been able to have withstood these brave horsemen, if these extraordinary cohorts had not made head against them with equal strength and courage.

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VIII.



THEN the fortune of the day was disputed by the flower of both armies. The merit of those who died on both sides, by the common fate of war, was greater than their number. For the rest of the soldiers, as if they had left the decision of the battle to the choicest troops of both armies, committed their fortune to their bravery. A great number was killed on both sides, and many more were wounded. At length the Roman cavalry up
braid

braided one another, by asking, “ what now remained to be done, seeing they had not been able by charging the enemy on horseback to make them give ground, and could make no impression on them now when they fought on foot? What third manner of fighting should they try? To what purpose should they have boldly hurried to the front of the battle, and fought in the room of other men?” Having excited one another by these words, they set up a shout and advanced against the enemy. And first they drove them from their post, then they forced them to retreat, and after that put them to flight. In so great an equality of strength, it is no easy matter to determine what turned the balance, unless we suppose that the constant good fortune of the Romans might have raised their courage, and the bad fortune of the Hernici sunk theirs. The conquerors pursued them to their camp, but as the day was far spent, they did not attempt to storm it. The dictator had been so long detained in searching for happy omens, that he could not give the signal to battle before noon, which occasioned the action to last till night. The next day the Roman army took possession of the enemy’s camp, which they had deserted. There they found only a few wounded men; and a body of the fugitives being discovered by their ensigns near the city walls, through the thinness of their ranks, were put to the rout, and straggled in consternation through the fields. Nor was the victory without bloodshed on the Roman side; the fourth part of their men was slain, but the loss of some knights who fell in the battle, affected them most sensibly.

THE next year the consuls C. Sulpicius and C. Licinius Calvus led an army against the Hernici, and when they found not the enemy in the field, they took the city Ferentinum. As they were returning from that place, the Tiburtines shut their gates against them. Both nations had formerly been making many complaints of one another, and this step at last de-

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T. Quinctius
Pennus dic-
tator, Servi-
us Cornelius
Maluginen-
sis general of
horse.

determined the Romans to send the feciales to the Tiburtines to demand satisfaction, and, upon refusal, to declare war against them. It is very certain, that T. Quinctius Pennus was dictator that year, and that Servius Cornelius Maluginensis was his general of the horse. Licinius Macer says, that the dictator was nominated by the consul Licinius in order to preside at the comitia, and that he was obliged to do it to check the ambitious designs of his colleague, who intended to hold the comitia for the election of consuls, before he set out for the army, and to get himself continued in his office. But as this historian ascribes this honor to his own family, it makes his authority have the less weight; and as I can find no mention of it in ancient records, I am more inclined to think, that the dictator was nominated on account of the war with the Gauls. This much is certain, that they encamped that year on the Salarian way beyond the bridge, which stood upon the Anio, three miles from Rome. The dictator, after proclaiming a vacation of the courts of justice on account of this invasion, obliged all the young men to take the military oath, and marching from the city with a great army, pitched his camp on the hither bank of the Anio. The bridge lay between the two armies, which neither of them broke down, lest it should be a sign of fear. While both sides endeavored to make themselves masters of it, there happened several skirmishes between them, but their strength was so equal, that the dispute was not like to be easily decided. Upon this, a Gaul of a gigantic stature advanced upon the empty bridge, cleared of every body else, and cried out as loud as he could, “ Let the bravest man in the Roman army come and fight me, that the success of our combat may determine which is the more valiant nation.”

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THE chief of the Roman youth were silent for a long time; for they were ashamed to refuse the chal-

challenge, and at the same time unwilling, to CHAP.
demand the chief lot of danger. Upon this, T. X.
Manlius, the son of Lucius, who had delivered

his father from the prosecution of the tribune, quitting his post, came to the dictator and said, "Though I were sure of victory, general, yet without your orders I have never fought out of my rank. If you will give me leave, I will shew this wild beast who dances with so much haughtiness before the enemy's standards, that I am of the blood of that family who threw down the Gauls from the Tarpeian rock." Then the dictator said to him, "Persevere, T. Manlius, as you have begun in testifying your piety to your father, and your zeal for your country; go, and by the assistance of the Gods, convince them that the Roman name is invincible." Having said this, his companions put on his armor. He took one of those bucklers which were used by the foot, and girt on a Spanish sword which was fit for a close fight^a. Having dressed and armed him in this manner, they brought him out against the Gaul, who was foolishly vamping, and lolling out his tongue by way of insult at his enemy; a circumstance which the ancient historians have also thought fit to mention. Then every one retired to his post, and the two armed champions were left in the middle between the two armies, rather by way of shew, than according to the rules of war. To those who judged by appearance, they were a very unequal match: the one was of a huge size of body, his garments striped of different colors, and his arms glittering, adorned and embossed with gold. Manlius, being of the middle military stature, made but an indifferent appear-

^a When our author says that Manlius armed himself with a Spanish sword, we are not to imagine that the republic borrowed this sort of sword from the Spaniards. The two nations did not begin to have any great knowledge of one another, till the beginning of the Carthaginian

wars. Livy therefore means that Manlius's sword was as to length and shape, like those which the Romans afterwards borrowed from the Spaniards. Most antiquaries make it out but twenty-two inches long; and some but fifteen.

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ance, and his arms were rather fit for fighting than shew. He neither sung, leaped, or made any idle flourishes with his armour, but with a heart full of courage and resentment, reserved his fire for the danger of the combat. When the champions stood in this posture between the two armies, and while the minds of so many spectators were fluctuating between hope and fear, the Gaul, like a great colossus, threatening ruin from on high, projecting his shield on his left arm against the impending stroke of his enemy, thundered down his sword edge wise, but without effect. The Roman raising the point of his sword upright and striking his own buckler against the lower part of the Gaul's, slipped under it so closely that he could not be wounded by him, and getting within his sword stabbed him both in the belly and groin; he fell and covered a large piece of ground with his huge body. And without mangling it any more, only stript him as he lay dead of his golden collar, which bloody as it was, he put upon his own neck. The Gauls were quite confounded with terror and amazement. The Romans in transports of joy, ran from their posts to meet their champion; they congratulated him upon his victory, and carried him amidst acclamations of triumph to the dictator. Among the other extempore or unpremeditated praises which the soldiers in the height of their joy, sung like songs, the surname of Torquatus was observed, which was ever continued to his posterity, and was a very great honor to his family. To this the dictator added a crown of gold, and having assembled his troops, gave him the highest commendations for his gallant behaviour.

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AND this combat really contributed so much to the finishing of the whole war, that the Gauls the very next night deserted their camp in a fright, and withdrew into the country of the Tiburtines, who took part with them in it, and supplied them with provisions.

provisions, after which they soon retired into Campania. This behavior of theirs was the reason, why the next year, when the Hernici had fallen to M. Fabius Ambustus the consul, as his province, the people ordered his colleague C. Pætilius Balbus, to lead an army against the Tiburtines. The Gauls returning from Campania to their assistance, committed terrible devastations in the territories of Labicum, Alba and Tusculum, which they did without doubt under the conduct of the Tiburtines. And though the commonwealth had been content with carrying on the war against them by a consul, the invasion made by the Gauls obliged them to create a dictator. Accordingly they chose Q. Servilius Ahala, who appointed T. Quinctius to be his general of the horse, and by authority of the senate vowed the great games, if he should be successful in that war. The dictator having commanded the consular army to remain in the country of the Tiburtes to keep them at home, administered the military oath to all the youth who were left at Rome, and none of them refused to enlist themselves. He engaged the Gauls not far from the gate Collina with the strength of the whole city, in sight of their parents, wives and children, objects which greatly raise the courage of those who fight at a distance from them, but when presented to the eyes of the soldiers, excited their shame and compassion. After much slaughter on both sides, at length the army of the Gauls gave way and fled to Tibur, as their fortress or asylum. The consul Pætilius met the scattered fugitives not far from that town, and obliged them and the Tiburtines, who sallied out to assist them, to take refuge in the city. The dictator and the consul behaved both gallantly on this occasion; and Fabius the other consul at first defeated the Hernici in some slight skirmishes, and when they came to a general battle with all their forces, entirely routed them. The dictator highly commended the consuls both to the senate and the people, and having also given them the honor

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M. Fab.
Ambustus
and C. Pætil.
Balbus.
Consuls
Y. of R. 393.
B. J. C. 359.

Q. Servilius
Ahala dicta-
tor, T.
Quinctius
general of
horse.

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which he might have claimed to himself, abdicated his authority. Pætilius obtained a double triumph over the Gauls and the Tiburtines. Fabius was content with the honor of an ovation. The Tiburtes made a jest of the triumph of Pætilius; they asked “where the consul had engaged with them in any pitched battle? They said it was true, that a few of their citizens had gone without the gates to see the flight and the terror of the Gauls, and when they found themselves attacked by the Romans, they killed all those they met without distinction, and returned into the city. Hath such an inconsiderable victory been thought deserving of a triumph? To convince them that they ought not to think it a great and uncommon exploit to raise a tumult and confusion at the gates of Tibur, they should soon see a greater tumult at the walls of Rome.”

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XII.



M. Pop.
Lænas and
C. Manlius
Consuls
Y. of R. 394,
B. J. C. 358.

IN consequence of these bravadoes, the next year in the consulship of M. Popillius Lænas, and Cn. Manlius, they marched from Tibur in the night-time as soon as it was dark to Rome with a hostile army. This sudden invasion and alarm in the night, terrified the Romans, who were awakened by it out of sleep, besides their fears were increased, because many of them knew not who the enemy were, nor whence they came. Nevertheless they quickly sounded an alarm, and secured the gates by centinels, and the walls by guards. When daylight discovered to them a small number of enemies, and these Tiburtes only, the two consuls marching out at two different gates, fell upon them on both sides as they were advancing to make an attack upon the walls. But they were scarce able to sustain the very first onset of the Romans, so that it appeared that they had been tempted to make this attempt more by the divisions at Rome than by their own bravery. Their coming was even an advantage to the Romans, for the dread of a war at their gates, stifled the sedition which was ready to break out between the senate and people.

people. The enemy the following year made another incursion upon the Roman territory, which alarmed the country people more than the city. For the Tarquinienſes entered and ravaged their lands, eſpecially on the ſide where they were joined to Hetruria; and reſtitution being demanded in vain, the people ordered the new conſuls C. Fabius and C. Plautius to declare war againſt them. The Tarquinienſes fell to the former as his province, and the Hernici to his colleague. The rumor likewiſe of a war with the Gauls increaſed every day: but what comforted the Romans amidſt ſo many impending dangers was that the Latines ſued for peace, which was granted them, and they furniſhed the republic with a great number of men, as ſtipulated in their ancient treaties which they had not obſerved for many years. The Romans, reinforced by theſe auxiliaries, were the leſs alarmed when intelligence was brought them that the Gauls were all on a ſudden come to Præneste, and from thence advanced as far as Pedum, where they had pitched their camp. However they thought fit to chooſe a dictator, and C. Plautius the conſul being ſent for on purpoſe, nominated C. Sulpicius, who took M. Valerius to be his general of the horſe. They choſe the beſt troops out of the conſular armies, and led them againſt the enemy. This war was carried on more ſlowly than was agreeable to the ſoldiers on either ſide: at firſt the Gauls only were eager to engage, but afterwards the Romans running furiouſly to arms, and ſkirmiſhing with the enemy, diſcovered a forwardneſs ſuperior to theirs. However the dictator did not think it adviſable to riſk a battle unneceſſarily with a people, whom time and a ſtrange country would weaken every day, as they continued in it without any magazines of proviſions, or fortifications to ſecure them. Beſides, as their conſtitution of body and temper of mind qualified them only for ſhort and expeditious ſervices, their ſtrength and courage muſt be waſted by the ſmalleſt delay. For theſe reaſons, the dictator ſpun out the war, and threatened to puniſh

C. Fabius
and C. Plau-
tius conſuls.
Y. of R. 397.
B. J. C. 355.

C. Sulpicius,
dictator, M.
Val. gene-
ral of horſe.

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those severely who should attack the enemy without his orders. The soldiers being very uneasy at these delays, begun at first to reflect upon Sulpicius's conduct, in their discourses with one another in their posts, and upon guard, and sometimes blamed the senate in general for not allowing the war to be carried on by consuls. They said, "They had pitched upon an excellent general, a matchless commander, who expected that victory should come down from heaven to him while he sat still and did nothing." Soon after they vented not only these but even more severe reproaches against him in the day-time; declaring openly that they would either fight without his orders, or return directly in a body to Rome. The centurions joined with the soldiers, nor were these seditious discourses confined to small parties assembled in rings, but publicly uttered in the centre of the army, and even in the general's quarters. The mutineers also having assembled in such numbers as if they had been summoned to an assembly, called out from all parts that they must immediately go to the dictator, and nominated Sex. Tullius to speak to him in the name of the whole army, in terms becoming his distinguished bravery.

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AS this Tullius was now the first captain of the triarii for the seventh time, and there was not a man in the infantry who had signalized himself more by his gallant exploits, he advanced before a body of the soldiers to the tribunal. And whilst Sulpicius was not more surprized to see this crowd of mutineers, than to find Tullius at the head of them, who had been always very obedient to the orders of his general, he thus addressed the dictator, "Your whole army, dictator, thinking you have found them guilty of cowardice, and that to disgrace them, you have in a manner stript them of their arms, have besought me to plead their cause. And the truth is, though we had given ground, or could be reproached with having turned our backs upon the enemy, or lost our colors in
" shamefu

“ shameful manner, yet I should think it reasonable
 “ for you to permit us to repair our fault by our va-
 “ lor, and to wipe out the remembrance of our
 “ cowardice by new glory. Our legions who were
 “ routed at Allia, after their defeat returned from
 “ Veii, and by their bravery recovered their country
 “ which their fears had lost. But as for us, by the
 “ goodness of the Gods, by your good fortune and that
 “ of the Roman people, our army is yet entire, and
 “ our glory unfullied. Yet I can scarcely say our
 “ glory is unfullied, seeing not only the enemy in-
 “ sult us as so many dastardly women shut up with-
 “ in our ramparts, but you our general, which gives
 “ us the more sensible uneasiness, think your army
 “ to have neither courage, arms, nor hands; and be-
 “ fore you have tried us, so far despair of us, as to
 “ look upon yourself to be the commander of a par-
 “ cel of weak and lame invalids. For how else can we
 “ believe that you, an experienced general, who have
 “ given proofs of the greatest bravery in war, should
 “ sit, to use a common expression, with your arms a-
 “ cross? Whatever the cause may be, it is more rea-
 “ sonable to think you suspect our courage than we
 “ yours. But if this is not owing to you, but to
 “ a general concert, and some combination of the
 “ senate, not the war with the Gauls, keeps us at
 “ a distance from Rome and our household Gods,
 “ I beseech you, not to consider what I shall say
 “ as spoken by soldiers to their general, but by
 “ the plebeians to the patricians, and be assured,
 “ that as you have your separate designs and views,
 “ they will likewise have theirs. Who can be of-
 “ fended with us for considering ourselves as your
 “ soldiers, and not your slaves? And as sent
 “ to war, not into banishment? Can any body
 “ take it amiss, if we declare, that in case our ge-
 “ neral would lead us out to battle, and give us the
 “ signal to engage, we would fight as becomes Ro-
 “ mans and brave men? But if there is no oc-
 “ casion for arms, that we would choose rather to

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“ take our case at Rome than in the camp. So
 “ much for the patricians. But as for you, illustri-
 “ ous general, we your soldiers, conjure you to lead
 “ us to battle. Our great desire is to conquer, and
 “ especially under your conduct, to procure for you
 “ the honor of the laurel, to enter the city with you
 “ in triumph, to accompany your chariot to the
 “ temple of Jupiter, the greatest and best of beings,
 “ and with joy and gladness return him thanks for
 “ your success.” This speech of Tullius was followed
 by the entreaties of the common soldiers, who called
 out from all parts, conjuring him to order them to
 arm, and to give the signal to engage.

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THE dictator was pleased to see this ardor among
 his men, and though he thought the step they had
 taken was a bad precedent, yet he promised to
 comply with their demands. Then he enquired
 of Tullius privately, what this proceeding meant,
 and how it had been brought about. Upon which
 the centurion earnestly besought him not to think
 that he had either forgot the martial laws, his own
 duty, or the regard due to his general ; “ That he
 “ consented to put himself at the head of the mu-
 “ tineers, who generally resemble their leaders,
 “ only to prevent their chusing to themselves such a
 “ factious head as an enraged multitude commonly
 “ do ; as for himself, he assured him, that he would
 “ do every thing according to the orders of his ge-
 “ neral, but that he ought to take all proper mea-
 “ sures to keep his army in their duty. That their
 “ minds were in such a violent ferment, that he could
 “ no longer delay to gratify their desires, and they
 “ would seize the first opportunity to engage if their
 “ general would not give them the signal to battle.”
 While they were talking, a Gaul was carrying off
 some horses which were grazing without the entrench-
 ments, but two Roman soldiers took them from him.
 Upon this the Gauls threw stones at them, the Ro-
 man sentinels set up a shout, and they run from both
 sides

sides to assist their own men. On which the two armies were upon the point of coming to a general battle, had not the centurions made haste to part the fray. This accident fully confirmed what Tullius had told the dictator, and as the matter would admit of no longer delay, he gave notice in the camp that they should fight the next day. But as the dictator trusted more to the courage than the number of his men, he began to cast about and to consider all possible methods of intimidating the enemy. As he was a man of a ready invention, he contrived a new stratagem which many Romans and foreigners, and even some generals in our time have used. He ordered the pack-saddles to be taken off the mules, and having only left upon them two horse-cloths, armed some of the muleteers with the arms of the sick-men, and others with those of the prisoners, and mounted them upon them. With this body, consisting of near a thousand men, he blended an hundred horsemen, with orders to march up to the mountains above the camp in the night, to hide themselves in the woods, and not to stir till he should give them the signal. As soon as it was day, he began to draw up his men carefully along the foot of the mountains that the Gauls might face them. The mock-squadron had by this time gained their post, and they terrified the enemy more than regular troops could have done. For the generals of the Gauls at first did not believe that the Romans would come down into the plain, but when they saw that they had marched down all of a sudden from the rising ground, as they were eager to engage, they rushed forward to charge them, and the battle begun before the generals could give the signal.

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THE Gauls fell upon the right wing of the Romans with so much fury, that they could not have been able to stand against them, if the dictator had not happened to be there. He upbraided Tullius particularly, and asked him “if he had promised
R 3 “fed

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“ fed that the fouldiers would fight in this manner?
 “ Where were the fhouts of thofe who demanded
 “ their arms? Where were the menaces of thofe who
 “ declared they would fight without the orders of
 “ their general? Now their commander with a loud
 “ voice encouraged them to the battle, and advanced
 “ fword in hand before the firft ranks. Would any of
 “ thofe who intended to lead them on, they who were
 “ fo couragious in the camp, and cowardly in the
 “ field, follow him?” Thefe reproaches were juft, and
 ftung the Romans with fo much fhame, that regard-
 lefs of danger they threw themfelves amidft the darts
 of the enemy. This attack, in which they behaved
 almoft like madmen, firft put the enemy into difor-
 der, and then the horfe falling on, put them en-
 tirely to the rout. When the dictator faw that the
 enemy had given ground on the right wing, he turn-
 ed to the left, to which he obferved the enemy re-
 fort in great numbers, and gave the appointed fig-
 nal to thofe who lay in ambuſh on the mountain. Up-
 on their fetting up a freſh ſhout, the Gauls obferved
 them marching acrofs the mountain to their camp,
 and for fear they ſhould cut off their retreat to it,
 left off fighting, and fled thither with precipitation.
 But being met by M. Valerius, general of the horfe,
 who after the defeat of their right wing, kept ho-
 vering round the enemy’s camp with his ſquadrons;
 they fled to the mountains and woods, and very
 many of them were cut off by the muleteers and coun-
 terfeit cavalry, and a great flaughter was made of
 thofe who had retreated thither through fear, after
 the battle was over. And no general ſince M. Fu-
 rius Camillus more juſtly deſerved to triumph over
 the Gauls than C. Sulpicius. He alfo ſeparated a
 large quantity of gold from the other ſpoils of the
 Gauls, which he confecrated to Jupiter Capitolinus,
 and enclosed in a vault built with ſquare ſtone. This
 year too the conſuls fought with the enemies of
 Rome, but with different ſucceſs. For the Hernic
 were defeated and ſubdued by C. Plautius. His col-

Scipio Fabius engaged rashly and unadvisedly with the Tarquinienſes; the loſs which the Romans ſuffered in the battle was not ſo great, but after it, three hundred and ſeven of their ſoldiers, who had been made priſoners, were ſacrificed by the enemy. This barbarous puniſhment made their diſgrace the more remarkable. And to add to their miſfortunes, the inhabitants of Velitræ and Privernum made a ſudden incuſſion into the Roman territories and ravaged them. The ſame year the Pomptin^a and Publilian tribes were added to the former. The games which Cincinnatus the dictator had vowed were celebrated, and C. Pœtelius the tribune of the people, by the advice of the ſenate, firſt propoſed a bill in the comitia to prevent corruption and canvaffing at elections. This law, it is believed, checked the ambition of candidates, and eſpecially of upſtarts, who were wont to go about to the fairs, and other public meetings, to buy votes.

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XV.

BUT the bill which the tribunes M. Duilius and L. Mænius brought in the next year in the conſulſhip of C. Marcius and Cn. Manlius, for reducing the intereſt of money to one per cent. was not ſo agreeable to the patricians, and for that reaſon the commons were more eager to paſs it. Beſides the wars they had reſolved upon the year before, the Falifci^a were declared enemies on account of two provocations. For their youth had aſſiſted the Tarquinienſes againſt the Romans, and when ſome of the latter after their defeat had fled to Falerii^b for refuge, they reſuſed to reſtore them, when they were demanded by the feciales. That province fell to Cn. Manlius, Marcius led his army into the country of the rivernates, which by reaſon of a long peace was in

CHAP.
XVI.
C. Marcius
and Cn.
Manlius
Conſuls.
Y. of R. 398.
B. J. C. 354.

^a Theſe two tribes added to the twenty-five before-mentioned, make all twenty-seven.

^b The country of the Falifci, was conſiderable territory among the twelve Lucumonies of Hetruria. The

people were originally Greeks, brought into Italy by Hæleſus, who is ſaid to have been the ſon of Agamemnon.

^c This city was the capital of the canton of the Falifci. Geographers are not agreed about the ſituation of it,

CHAP.
XVI.

a flourishing condition, and thereby enriched his soldiers with the booty. And that the soldiers might have the larger share for themselves, to the plenty of plunder which they found in the enemy's country, he added an instance of his own generosity, as he reserved none of it for the public treasure, but favored this army, and allowed them to better their fortunes. For when he saw that the Privernates had posted themselves in a very strong camp before the walls of their city, he assembled his men and spoke to them thus, "If you promise me to behave valiantly in battle, and not to be more intent upon plunder than upon fighting, I will give you both the booty of their camp and city." They demanded the signal with loud shouts, and full of hopes and courage, marched on briskly to the battle. And Sex. Tullius, of whom we made mention above, called out, "see, general, how faithfully your troops perform their promise," upon which he threw down his javelin, drew his sword, and fell upon the enemy. He was followed by all the first line, the Privernates were routed at the first onset, and fled to Privernum. The Romans pursued them thither, and when they were setting their scaling-ladders against the walls, the city surrendered. Marcius obtained a triumph over them; the other consul performed nothing memorable, only he held an assembly of his men by tribes in the camp, and by a new precedent^a passed a law, whereby it was enacted, that the twentieth part of the price of every slave that should be set free, should be paid into the public treasury. At this law brought a considerable income to the treasury which was then empty, the senate confirmed it. But the tribunes of the people who were mor

^a In order to have assembled the comitia by tribes in a legal manner, several formalities ought to have been observed, which were then omitted. Every tribe ought to have been summoned by name: They could be legally assembled any where, but within the compass of Rome, at the law ought to have been proposed three market-days. The tribunes would therefore have been highly to blame, if they had not put a stop to this growing tyranny of the consuls.

alarmed at the consequences which this act might have
 than at the law itself, made it capital for any person
 to call assemblies of the people at a distance from
 Rome. For said they, if such a freedom should be
 granted, they will be able to enact by their soldiers,
 who are sworn to obey their general, what laws they
 please; however prejudicial they may be to the interest
 of the people. The same year C. Licinius Stolo was, by
 a statute of his own making, fined in ten thousand asses
 of brass ^a by M. Popillius Lænas, because he with his
 son were possessed of a thousand acres of land, and by
 emancipating the latter he had fraudulently endeavor-
 ed to evade the law.

THE new consuls M. Fabius Ambustus and M. Popillius Lænas, both for the second time, had two
 wars to sustain. That which Lænas carried on a-
 gainst the Tiburtines was easily terminated; for having
 driven them into their city, he ravaged their lands.
 The Falisci and Tarquinienfes routed his colleague
 in the first encounter. That which chiefly terrified
 his army was their priests, who, carrying lighted flam-
 beaux and snakes in their hands, advanced with the
 air of furies, and so affrighted the Romans with their
 odd appearance, that they run with precipitation to
 their entrenchments, as if they had lost both their
 courage and their reason. But when the consul,
 the lieutenant-generals and tribunes, ridiculed and
 upbraided them with being terrified by bugbears
 like children, shame quickly gave a turn to their spi-
 rits, and they rushed as if they had been blindfold
 upon those very spectres from which they had fled be-
 fore. After dispersing them, they fell upon the ene-
 mies who had real arms, and the same day they made
 themselves masters of their camp. They returned with
 rich booty, and in their military songs made them-
 selves merry with their own fright and the silly artifice
 of the enemy. Soon after the whole nation of the He-
 rurians took up arms, and being conducted by the

CHAP.
XVI.CHAP.
XVII.M Fab. Am-
bust. M.
Popil. Lænas
consuls.
Y. of R. 399.
B. J. C. 353.^a 32 l. 5 s. 10 d. Arbuthnot.

CHAP.

XVII.

C. Marcius
Rut. dicta-
tor, and C.
Plautius ge-
neral of
horse.

Tarquinienses and Falisci, advanced as far as the salt-pits^a. To oppose this impending danger. C. Marcius Rutilus was nominated dictator, and was the first commoner that was advanced to that office. He likewise appointed C. Plautius, a person of the same order, to be his general of the horse. This promotion the patricians looked upon as the highest indignity that could be put upon them, being enraged that even the dictatorship should be made common to all ranks, and therefore did their utmost to prevent the necessary preparations for the war to be made or decreed him. For this reason the people voted him the necessary supplies with the greater dispatch. After this he marched from the city, and by transporting his army in boats, sometimes to one side of the river, and sometimes to the other, wherever he got intelligence of the enemy, he cut off many of them whom he found straggling up and down, and pillaging the country. Then he made an unexpected attack upon their camp and took it, and having made eight thousand of the enemy prisoners, and either slain or driven the remainder out of the Roman territories, obtained the honor of a triumph by the order of the people, without the consent of the senate. As the patricians were unwilling that the comitia for the election of a consul should be held either by a plebeian dictator or consul, Fabius being in the field, the government fell into an interregnum. The interreges appointed to govern successively were Q. Servilius Ahala, M. Fabius, Cn. Manlius, C. Fabius, C. Sulpicius, L. Æmilius, Q. Servilius, M. Fabius Ambustus. During the administration of the

^a There were several places in Italy, called the Salt-pits. 1. That near the ford of Velitræ, in Heturia, at the mouth of the river Cernina, which retains the same name to this day. 2. That in Apulia, or La Pouille, near the lake called Lago Salvo, in the neighbourhood of the river Cerebalus or Cervaro. 3. The Salt-pits that Ancus Marcius made near the port of Ostia. And lastly, those which the Veientes surrendered

up to Romulus, with the Septempagium, according to Dion. Hal. a little distance from the mouth of the Tyber. Though the ancients have distinguished the Salt-pits from the Septempagium, from those of Ancus Marcius, their neighbourhood makes it probable that they were the same. The Tarquinienses therefore were far advanced into the Roman territory, to the place now called Campo di Saline.

second interrex, a dispute arose because two patricians were elected consuls, and when the tribunes interposed, Fabius, who presided at the election, answered them, that there was a law of the twelve tables whereby it was enacted, “ that the last decree of the people should only be in force, and as they had given their suffrages for two patricians, in this instance it was to be admitted as their last decree.” The tribunes who continued their opposition, could do nothing but put off the election for some time, so that at length two patricians, C. Sulpicius Pæticus for the third time, and M. Valerius Poplicola were created consuls, and the same day entered upon their office.

CHAP.
XVII.

FOUR hundred years after the building of Rome, thirty-five after it's recovery from the Gauls, and eleven years after the plebeians were made capable of being chosen consuls, C. Sulpicius Pæticus for the third time, and M. Valerius Poplicola, both patricians, were advanced to that office, after an interregnum. And the same year Empulum^a was taken from the Tiburtines with little opposition; but it is not certain whether both the consuls commanded jointly in that war, according to some historians, or whether Sulpicius ravaged the lands of the Tarquinienses, while Valerius led the legions against the Tiburtines. But these magistrates had a harder struggle with the plebeians and tribunes at Rome. For they thought, as in their own persons two of the nobility had been at once raised to the consulate, themselves engaged not only in honor, but also in duty to resign the consulship into the hands of none but such as were patricians like themselves; that they ought entirely to give up their title to it, if they could not prevent it's becoming a plebeian office, or deliver it entire to patricians as it had been transmitted to them by their forefathers. On the other hand the plebeians were enraged and said, “ To what purpose did they live, or why were they reck-

CHAP.
XVIII.

C. Sulpicius
Pæticus. and
M. Val.
Popli. Con.
Y. of R. 400.
B. J. C. 352.

^a Geographers honestly confess they know nothing of the situation of this city. Only father Kircher places it three miles north of the Tyber, near a place he calls Ampiglione.

CHAP. XVIII. **“**oned among the number of citizens, if their whole collective body was not able to preserve a privilege which the courage of two men, L. Sextius and C. Licinius, procured? They would rather submit to kings, decemvirs, or to any government, however oppressive, than see both the consuls patricians, or one of the two orders of the state, which ought to govern and obey by turns, put in possession of the supreme power for ever, and thereby enabled to look upon the other as born for no purpose, but to be their slaves.” The tribunes were not wanting to blow the coals of dissension, but among all the mutineers, there were none to head them. For after the people had several times gone down to the campus Martius spent many days in debate, at length the steadiness of the consuls got the better of them, and in a transport of grief and sorrow, they followed the tribunes, who cried out, that liberty was utterly lost, and that they ought not only to leave the campus Martius, but even the city enslaved and oppressed by the tyranny of the patricians. Howbeit though the consuls were abandoned by a number of the plebeians, they proceeded with the same diligence to finish the election with the few who remained, and chose for consuls M. Fabius Ambustus for the third time, and T. Quinctius, both patricians. In some annals I find M. Popillius, instead of T. Quinctius.

M. Fabius
Ambustus
and T.
Quinctius,
consuls.

Y. of R. 401.

B. J. C. 351.

CHAP. XIX. **THIS** year they carried on two different wars successfully, and the Tiburtines after several defeats were obliged to surrender. They took from them the city Saffula^a, and all their other towns would have shared the same fate, if the whole nation had not laid down their arms, and submitted to the discretion of the consul. He triumphed indeed over them, but otherwise he used his victory with great moderation. The Tarquinienfes were treated with great severity. Many of them were slain in battle.

^a Kircher supposes it stood on the spot where S. Gregorio stands at present and

and a vast number were taken prisoners, of whom they chose out three hundred and fifty eight of the highest quality, who were sent to Rome, and the rest were put to the sword. Nor did the people shew more clemency to the prisoners, who were sent to Rome, for they were first beaten with rods in the forum, and then beheaded. This punishment was inflicted upon the enemy by way of reprisal, for the Romans, whom they sacrificed in the forum of Tarquinii. These victories likewise engaged the Samnites to court their friendship. Their deputies received a favorable answer from the senate, and a treaty of alliance was concluded with them. The condition of the people of Rome was not so good at home as abroad. For though the interest of money was lessened by the law, which reduced it from twelve to one per cent. yet the poor were oppressed by the principal sums they owed, and submitted to the condition of serving for debt. These incumbrances discouraged the plebeians from opposing the election of both the consuls from among the patricians, they lost all concern about the comitia, and thought no more of procuring public advantages, by reason of their private grievances. The consulship remained in the hands of two patricians, who were C. Sulpicius Pæticus for the fourth, and M. Valerius Poplicola for the second time. Though the city was intent upon the war with the Hetrurians, because it was reported, that the people of Cære, out of compassion to the Tarquinienfes, their kinsmen, had united their forces with theirs, deputies from the Latins turned the arms of the republic against the Volsci, by bringing intelligence, that they had raised an army, and were ready to enter the Roman territories in a hostile manner. The senate thought that neither of these enemies were to be neglected, and therefore ordered troops to be levied for both expeditions, and the consuls to divide the provinces by lot. But afterwards the war in Hetruria chiefly engaged their attention, when they were informed, by letters from Sulpicius, to whom the

C. Sulpic.
Pæticus, and
M. Val. Pop-
lic. consuls.
Y. of R. 402.
B. J. C. 350.

CHAP. XIX. the province of the Tarquinienſes had fallen, that they plundered the country round about the Roman ſalt-pits, part of the booty had been carried into the territories of the Cærites, and their youth had certainly been among the pillagers. Upon this, the ſenate recalled Valerius the conſul, who oppoſed the Volſci, and was encamped in the territories of Tuſculum, and ordered him to nominate a dictator. He pitched upon T. Manlius, the ſon of Lucius, who appointed A. Cornelius Coſſus to be general of the horſe; and being content with the conſular army, declared war againſt the Cærites, both by the authority of the ſenate, and the decree of the people.

T. Manlius
dictator, A.
Corn. Coſſus
general of
horſe.

CHAP. XX. THEN indeed the Cærites began in earneſt to be afraid of a quarrel with the Romans, as if there had been more ſigns of a war in their declaration, than in the hoſtilities they themſelves had committed; and they now clearly ſaw how unequal a match they were for ſuch an enemy. They repented that they had plundered the Roman lands, and curſed the Tarquinienſes, who had adviſed them to revolt. They neither raiſed troops, nor made any preparations for war, but all with one accord inſiſted that deputies ſhould be ſent to Rome to beg pardon for their offence. The ambaffadors applied to the ſenate, and being referred by them to the people, beſought the Gods, whoſe ſacred images they had received into their city, and taken care of with all due reſpect during the war with the Gauls, to inſpire the Romans now in a flouriſhing condition with the ſame compaſſion for the people of Cære, which they had ſhewn for the republic in her diſtreſs, and turning towards the temple of Veſta, implored the protection of the veſtals and flamines, whom they had worſhipped in a devout and religious manner. “ Can any one believe, “ ſaid they, that thoſe who have deſerved ſo well “ of you, ſhould be haſtily reckoned among your “ enemies without any reaſon? Or if they had “ committed any hoſtilities, that they were not “ ra-

“ rather to be imputed to madness, than to premeditated design of effacing by fresh injuries all their former good offices, especially as they had been done to persons remarkable for their gratitude; and to draw upon themselves the arms of the Roman people, now flourishing and victorious in war, after they had chosen their friendship in distress? They should not call that a design which was really necessity and force. It was true the Tarquinienses marching through their country in a hostile manner, though they had desired nothing of them but a free passage, had enticed some of their peasants, who had joined them in plundering the Roman territories, and this crime was charged upon the whole nation. That they were ready to deliver up these offenders, if required, or to punish them, if they should order it to be done. But they conjured them to preserve Cære, formerly the sanctuary of the Roman people, the residence of their priests, and receptacle of their religion, free from all the injuries of war, on account of the reception given to their vestals, and the regard they had paid their Gods.” Their past services prevailed on the Roman people more than their present arguments, to forget rather the evil than the good which they had done. For this reason the Cærites were admitted to a treaty, and it was agreed that the truce which was granted them for a hundred years, should be registered among the decrees of the senate. Upon this the fury of the war was turned against the Falisci, who had been guilty of the same crime, but they could no where be found; so that after they had ravaged their lands, without attempting to storm their towns, the legions were brought back to Rome, and the rest of the year was spent in repairing the walls and towers. The temple of Apollo was likewise consecrated.

CHAP.

XXI.



ABOUT the end of the year, the comitia for the election of consuls was broken off by a dispute between the senate and people; the tribunes being resolved not to allow the comitia to be held, unless they would proceed according to the Licinian law, and the dictator being absolutely determined rather to abolish the consulship in the republic, than to make it common both to patricians and plebeians. These quarrels occasioned the election to be put off, till the dictator's office expired, when the government fell into an interregnum. And these magistrates found the commons bitterly enraged against the senate, and they continued their disputes till the eleventh interrex was appointed. The tribunes strenuously insisted upon the execution of the Licinian law, but the people were more sensibly affected with the interest of their debts, which overwhelmed them, and complaints of private grievances broke out amidst their struggles for public privileges. The senate, tired out with these delays, ordered L. Cornelius Scipio, the interrex, for the sake of peace, to proceed according to the Licinian law in the comitia for the election of consuls. P. Valerius Poplicola was advanced to that dignity, and C. Marcius Rutilus was given him for his colleague. While their minds were thus disposed to concord, the new consuls set about the lowering the interest of money, which seemed to be an obstruction to their re-union. They considered the payment of the people's debts as a public concern, and created five men, whom they called bankers^a, from their management of the public

P. Val. Pop-
lic. C. Mar-
cius Rutilus,
consuls.

Y. of R. 403.
B. J. C. 349.

^a This is the first time our author mentions these bankers under the name of *Mensarii*, to whom the consuls committed the management of the public money. Their business was to negotiate it, and turn it to advantage, to receive the revenues of the republic, either in person, or by collectors appointed by them for that purpose, to collect the casual profits arising from confiscations, purchases,

sales, or exchanges, and to receive the pledges and securities of every private person. They were looked upon by the Romans as the guardians of the public faith. The chief design of their appointment was to relieve citizens overrun with debts, who borrowed the public money of them gratis, or at a very moderate interest. Their office was much the same as that of the *τραπεζίται* among the Greeks.

public money. These men discharged their trust with so much probity and care, that they deserved to have their names transmitted to posterity with honor in every history and record. They were C. Duilius, P. Decius Mus, M. Papirius, Q. Publilius, and Ti. Æmilius. Notwithstanding it was a matter of difficulty to manage an affair which commonly bears hard upon both parties, but always upon one; yet they executed their commission with great moderation in other respects; and though they advanced the public money upon that occasion, it was of no great detriment to the state. For those who had suffered their debts to rise to a great extent, and themselves to be overrun with arrears, more out of sloth than want of ability to pay, had tables erected in the forum with money out of the treasury, and either satisfied their creditors out of these funds, upon their first giving security to the people, or were obliged to give up their effects at a just appraisment. By this means vast sums of debt were paid off, not only without injury to any body, but also without the complaints of either party. Soon after a report was spread that the twelve nations of Hetruria had entred into a confederacy against the republic, and this groundless alarm obliged the senate to nominate a dictator. C. Julius was appointed in the camp, for the decree of the senate was sent thither to the consuls, and L. Æmilius was given him for general of the horse.

C. Julius
dictator, L.
Æmilius
general of
horse.

Greeks. But these differed widely from another sort of bankers, who were indifferently called *argentarii* and *mensarii*. They were professed money-changers, and kept their shops in the forum Romanum. There they traded for gain, by lending money usually at a great interest. They lived near the place where Tarquin the elder built these old shops for them, which were called *tabernæ argentariæ*. Hence the expression, *æs circum foraneum*, which Cicero uses in one of his letters to Atticus, to signify money borrowed at the bank. Public sales were usually made in presence

of one of the first kind of bankers, who received the money arising from the sale, and accounted for it with the proprietor, after he had first entered the sum received in his register, which he produced as his voucher, before the prætor; in case of a dispute. The usurious trade of the latter sort of bankers was much decried in Rome. Suetonius mentions, as a most bitter invective, the reproach which M. Anthony and Cassius cast upon Octavius, of being the grandson of a professed banker, who was detested by all the people.

But after all this precaution, every thing remained quiet abroad.

CHAP. BUT at home, while the dictator attempted to
 XXII. have two patricians raised to the consulship, the go-
 vernment fell into an interregnum. The two inter-
 reges, C. Sulpicius and M. Fabius, had interest to
 carry this point which the dictator had undertaken
 in vain, the commons being now more pliable in
 consideration of the late relief that had been given
 to debtors ; so that C. Sulpicius Poeticus, who had
 been the first interrex, and T. Quinctius Pennus,
 were advanced to the consulate. Some authors give
 the name of Cæso, and others of Caius to this
 Quinctius. Both of them took the field, the latter
 marched against the Falisci, and the former against
 the Tarquinienfes ; but as the enemy did not ven-
 ture a battle, they waged war rather against the
 country than the inhabitants, by putting every thing
 there to fire and sword. Those devastations, like a
 slow consumption, by degrees got the better of their
 obstinacy ; so that they first applied for a truce to
 the consuls, and afterwards with their consent to
 the senate, who granted them one for forty years.
 The state being thus delivered from two wars at
 the same time, during this respite from arms, the
 senate had thoughts of holding a census, because
 by the payment of debts, many estates had chang-
 ed their owners. But when they appointed the
 comitia to meet for the election of censors, C.
 Marcius Rutilus, the first plebeian who had attained
 to the dignity of dictator, offering himself a candi-
 date for the censorship, set the two orders at vari-
 ance. He seemed indeed to have timed his affair
 ill, because both the consuls happened to be patrici-
 ans that year, and declared they would have no re-
 gard to him at the election. But by his resolution
 he carried his point, being supported by the tribunes
 who exerted their utmost efforts to recover their
 right, which they had lost in the comitia for the e-
 lectio.

C. Sulpicius
 Poeticus, T.
 Quinctius
 Pennus, con-
 suls.

Y. of R. 404.
 B. J. C. 348.

lection of consuls. Besides, as the merit of Marcius qualified him for the highest dignities, the commons were desirous that the same man who had opened the way to the dictatorship, should pave the way to the censorship to those of his own order. Nor did they change their sentiments at the election, for Marcius was chosen censor in conjunction with Manlius Cnæus. M. Fabius was likewise this year created dictator, not that they were alarmed with any wars, but to prevent the Licinian law from taking place at the comitia for the election of consuls. He took Q. Servilius for his general of the horse; but the dictatorship gave no more advantage to the combination of the senators in the comitia for the election of consuls, than it had done to them in that for the election of censors.

M. Fab. dic-
tator, Q.
Servilius ge-
neral of
horse.

THEY gave M. Popillius Lænas, a plebeian, as colleague to L. Cornelius Scipio, a patrician, and good fortune made the former more illustrious than the latter. For upon the news that a numerous army of the Gauls had pitched their camp in the Latin territory, as Scipio lay dangerously ill, the management of that war was given by an extraordinary commission to Popillius. He levied an army with the utmost dispatch; for he ordered all the young men to rendezvous in arms at the temple of Mars, without the gate Capena, and the quæstors to bring the military standards^a out of the treasury to the same place. But after completing four legions, he gave the remainder to P. Valerius the prætor, and advised the senate to raise another army to secure the republic against the uncertain events of the war. When he had got every thing ready for his expedition, and taken all necessary precautions, he marched against the enemy. And that he might know

M. Popil.
Lænas and
L. Corneli-
us Scipio
consuls.
Y. of R. 405.
B. J. C. 347.

^a When troops were to be raised, the standard, says Festus, or rather two standards, were set up in the capitol; one red, for the infantry; the other blue, for the cavalry. Virgil

expresses this ancient custom in this verse,

*U. belli signum Laurenti Turnus ab
arce*

Exstulit — — — — —

CHAP. their strength, before he should risk a battle, he
 XXIII. begun to entrench himself on a rising ground as near
 as he could to the enemy. The Gauls, being naturally hot and eager to engage, no sooner perceived the Roman eagles at a distance, than they immediately drew up their army in battalia, resolved to fight. But when they observed that the Romans did not venture down into the plain, and were secured not only by an eminence, but also entrenchments, thinking they were struck with terror, and that it was a proper time to attack them, while they were very busy at their works, they advanced with a great shout, and fell upon them. Yet the Romans did not interrupt their works, for the triarii were employed in them, while the principes and hastati, who stood in arms to cover them, engaged the enemy. Besides their valor, they likewise had great advantage from their situation; for their darts and javelins were not like those thrown on a level, which commonly do no execution; but being poised by their own weight, stuck fast wherever they lighted. So that the Gauls, overloaded with these weapons, which either pierced their bodies, or stuck fast in their shields, halted, after they had run almost up hill, and were for some time in a doubt whether to advance or retire. But as this halt abated their courage, and encreased that of the enemy, they were repulsed, and tumbled down the hill one over another, making more havock of their own men than the enemy did; for in this precipitate rout more were trodden to death, than fell by the sword.

CHAP. THE victory was yet uncertain, because the Ro-
 XXIV. mans had another body to encounter, after they were
 come down into the plain. For the number of the Gauls was so great, that it made them insensible of such an inconsiderable loss, and therefore, as if a new army had started up, fresh troops advanced and fell upon the victorious enemy. The Romans checked their ardor, and stood in their posts, both as
 they

they were obliged to engage again after they were weary with fighting, and the consul, having exposed himself inconsiderately in the front, had his left shoulder almost run through with a javelin^a, and retired a little out of the battle. This very delay hindered the Romans from pushing their victory, till the consul having bound up his wound, returned to the foremost ranks, and said, “ Fellow-
“ soldiers, why do you stand still? You have not
“ to do with the Latines and Sabines, who, after
“ you have conquered them by your arms, forget
“ their enmity, and become your friends. We have
“ drawn our swords against wild beasts, and we must
“ either drink their blood, or give them our own.
“ You have repulsed these barbarians from your
“ camp, you have tumbled them backwards down
“ the hill, and you now stand upon the bodies of
“ the enemy slaughtered by you. Deluge the valley
“ with the same blood with which you have stained
“ the mountains. Do not expect they will fly,
“ while you stand still. You must advance, and
“ charge them boldly.” Animated by these arguments, they repulsed the front ranks of the Gauls, and drawing themselves up in the form of a wedge^b, penetrated even to their center. The barbarians fell into disorder, and having no distinct orders or general to command, turned their arms against their fellow-soldiers. Being scattered through the fields, they fled even beyond their own camp, and retired to the top of mount Alba, which was the highest hill

^a Our author, and other writers call this javelin *matarā*, *mataris*, and *materis*. It was so common a weapon among the Gauls, that the author of the books *ad Herennium*, which some ascribe to Cicero, makes use of this term, to express the whole nation by: *nec tam facile ex Italia Materis transalpina depulsa est*. There are some traces of it yet remaining in the French language, since the word *Matras* is used in some provinces in France, to signify a javelin.

^b The *cuneus* or wedge was in use

among the Greeks, and seems to have been transmitted from them to the Romans. According to *Ælian*, it was equilaterally triangular. *Vegetius* gives us the same idea of it, book iii. The wedge, says he, is a body of foot, drawn up into a triangular battalion, so that it grows narrower from the base to the top, till it ends in an acute angle. *Agathias* and *Suidas* compare this body of men drawn up in a wedge, to the capital Greek letter Δ.

CHAP.
XXIV.

L. Furius
Camillus
dictator, P.
Cornelius
Scipio gene-
ral of horse.
L. Furius
Camillus,
Ap. Claud.
Crassus, con-
suls.
Y. of R. 406.
B. J. C. 346.

in their view. The consul did not pursue them beyond their camp, because his wound pained him; and being unwilling to expose his men, already tired with fighting, to new fatigue, as the enemy had gained the rising ground he pursued them no farther. All the plunder of their camp he gave to his soldiers, and then led back his victorious army to Rome, enriched with the spoils of the Gauls. The consul's wound made his triumph to be delayed for some time. The same reason made the senate desire to have a dictator to hold the comitia during the indisposition of the present consuls. L. Furius Camillus was the person appointed; he chose P. Cornelius Scipio for his general of horse, and restored the consulship to the patricians. For this service, by the vigorous efforts of the senate, he himself was chosen consul, and nominated Ap. Claudius Crassus to be his colleague.

CHAP.
XXV.

BEFORE the new consuls entered upon their office, Popillius triumphed over the Gauls, to the great satisfaction of the people, who muttered^a, and asked, if there was any occasion to repent of having chosen a plebeian consul. At the same time they upbraided Camillus, who for trampling the Licinian law under foot had got the reward of the consulship, dishonored no less by his seeking of it, whilst by his being invested with the dictatorial power he conferred it on himself, than for the injury thereby done to the commons. This year was remarkable for many troubles. The Gauls, who had retired to the hills of Alba, not being able to bear the severities of the winter, came down, and ravaged the plains and sea-coasts at discretion. At the same time a fleet of Greeks^b infested the sea, and plundered

^a Monsieur Guerin has translated this passage, *triumphus à Popillio de Gallis actus magni favore plebis, mus-
santelque inter se regitabant, Popilius
triumpha des Gaulois, au grand contente-
ment du peuple, qui demandait avec au-
tant de fierté que de joie; where by*

rendering *mussantes* with as much pride as joy, has directly contradicted our author.

^b The ancients comprehended under the name of Greece, not only that peninsula, now called Morea, which lies beyond the Adriatic and Ionian

plundered the coast of Antium, and the country of the Laurentines, as far as the mouth of the Tyber. It happened that these two sorts of robbers came to a battle, after which both retired, the Gauls to their camp, and the Greeks to their ships, without knowing whether they should look upon themselves as conquerors, or conquered. But what alarmed the Romans most, was a diet which the Latin nations held at the grove of Ferentina, and the positive answer they gave to the Romans, when they demanded their contingent of troops, “That they should cease to command those whose assistance they wanted, and that the Latines would rather fight for their own liberty, than to establish the domination of another nation.” The senate being uneasy at the revolt of their allies, at a time when they were engaged in two foreign wars, resolved to restrain those by fear, whom faith could not keep to their duty, and for that purpose, ordered the consuls to exert the utmost stretch of their power in raising the levies, because they were obliged to depend entirely upon citizens, since their allies had abandoned them. They are said to have formed of the youth both of the city and country ten legions, consisting each of four thousand two hundred foot, and three hundred horse. And at this day, if any foreign invasion should happen, the power of the Roman people, which the world can scarce contain, were it united all together, could hardly raise such a numerous army in so short a time^c. So true it is, that we have

Ionian seas, but also all the neighbouring nations, which lay on this side of these seas, viz. Sicily and the southern parts of Italy. Several Greek colonies had dispersed themselves, especially in these two countries, where they had established their own government, language and customs, after they had subdued the natives. Hence the name of Great Greece was given to all that part of Italy, which was inhabited by those who were originally Greeks. But as to the particular limits of it, geographers are far from being agreed.

^c We are not here to understand our author in too strict a manner. The army raised on this occasion amounted only to forty-five thousand men. For Dio says, that Augustus kept twenty-three legions in constant pay. But to explain Livy's meaning aright, we must conclude, that in his time Rome alone, when arrived at her highest pitch of grandeur, could scarcely raise so many soldiers upon the spot; so much were her citizens enervated by indolence, luxury and pleasures.

CHAP. only encreased our riches and luxury, which are
 XXV. the only things we study to increase. Among the
 melancholy events of this year, we may reckon the
 death of the consul Ap. Claudius, who died as he
 was making preparations for the war. The govern-
 ment fell into the hands of Camillus, and as he was
 the only surviving consul, the fathers, either out of re-
 spect to his excellent qualities, which ought not to have
 been subjected to an absolute command, or because his
 name was a very good omen in a war with the Gauls,
 did not think it decent to appoint a dictator. He left
 two legions to guard the city, and having divided the
 other eight with the prætor L. Pinarius, ordered him
 to defend the sea-coast, and to hinder the Greeks from
 landing, while he himself, being animated by his fa-
 ther's bravery, takes the management of the war with
 the Gauls without casting of lots. After he came down
 into the Pomptin dominions, he chose a convenient
 place for encamping his troops, and being unwilling
 to come to a pitched battle with them in the plains,
 by preventing them from pillaging the country, he
 thought an enemy who were obliged to live upon
 plunder, would be sufficiently tamed.

CHAP. WHILE both armies lay unactive in their
 XXVI. camps, a Gaul, remarkable for his gigantic stature,
 and the splendor of his arms appeared between
 them, and after he had struck his lance upon his
 buckler, to enjoin silence, challenged, by an in-
 terpreter, the bravest man among the Romans to
 fight him in single combat. Upon this, M. Valeri-
 us, a legionary tribune and young man, thinking to
 gain as much glory as T. Manlius had done, af-
 ter asking the consul's leave, advanced to engage
 him. The interposition of the Gods made the com-
 bat between these two champions less illustrious. For
 just as Valerius was preparing to engage, a raven
 all of a sudden perching upon his helmet, turned a-
 gainst his rival. He received this omen at first with
 joy, as coming from heaven, and then besought the
 God

“ God or Goddes, who had sent the bird, graciously to assist him.” And it is surprizing to tell how the raven not only kept it's post, but as often as the combatants engaged, raising itself on it's wings, struck the Gaul in his face and eyes with his beak and claws, till at last being blinded, confused and terrified at such an uncommon prodigy, he was slain by Valerius. Then the raven mounted out of sight, and flew toward the east. Hitherto both armies had remained quiet in their posts, but as soon as the tribune began to strip the dead champion's body, the sentries of the Gaul's advanced to cover it, and the Romans run faster to assist their champion. The fight having first begun about the dead body of the Gaul, a smart engagement quickly ensued, for the dispute was no longer between some companies of the advanced guard, but both armies hurried to encounter each other. Camillus encouraged his men who were in high spirits on account of the victory gained by their tribune, and the favor and assistance given them of the Gods, and pointing to Valerius, adorned with the spoils of the Gaul, said, “ Fellow-foldiers, imitate this champion, and lay numbers of the Gauls dead on the ground round their champion.” Both Gods and men exerted themselves in this battle, and the Gauls behaved in such a manner, that the victory was not long dubious; such a deep impression had the fate of two foldiers made on the minds of both armies. The skirmish between the advanced guards, which drew out the rest of the troops, had been bloody, but the Gauls, who came after, fled before they were within the reach of a dart. They dispersed at first through the country of the Volsci, and the plains of Falernum, and afterwards withdrew into Apulia, and the coasts of the lower sea^a. After this, the consul having assembled his foldiers, highly commended the tribune, and presented him with a crown of gold, and ten oxen. He was then ordered himself to defend the

^a The Adriatic sea was called *mare inferum*, or the lower sea; and the Tyrrhenian sea was called *mare superum*, or the upper sea.

CHAP.

XXVI.

T. Manlius
Torquatus
dictator, A.
Corn. Coss.
general of
horse.

M. Valerius
Corvus, and
M. Popillius
Lænas, Coss.
Y. of R. 407.
B. J. C. 345.

sea-coasts, and for that purpose he joined his camp to that of the prætor. But when he saw that the war was spun out by the slowness of the Greeks who had declined to venture a battle, with consent of the senate, he named T. Manlius Torquatus dictator, to preside at the comitia. He appointed A. Cornelius Cossus for his general of the horse, and having assembled the comitia, with the greatest approbation of the people, declared M. Valerius Corvus consul, for that was his surname ever after, though he was the rival of his own glory, absent at that time, and but twenty-three years of age. They gave Corvus for his colleague, M. Popillius Lænas a plebeian who had been thrice consul before. Camillus gained no considerable victory over the Greeks, for they were not accustomed to fight by land, nor the Romans by sea. At last, being hindered from coming ashore, and wanting water and other necessary provisions, they left Italy. But to what particular nation or people this fleet belonged there is no certainty. I am most inclined to believe that they were the tyrants of Sicily; for the farther Greece being at that time tired out with civil wars, dreaded the power of the Macedonians^a.

CHAP.

XXVII.



AFTER the armies were disbanded; when peace was established at home and abroad, and the orders of the state reconciled to one another, that their prosperity might not be too great, the city was distressed by a plague, which obliged the senate to order the decemvirs to consult the sybilline books, and by their advice the ceremony of the lectisternium was performed. This year the Antiates sent a colony to Satricum, and rebuilt that city which the Latines had destroyed. And a treaty was concluded at Rome with the ambassadors of the Carthaginians, who come to demand an alliance and friendship with the Romans. The republic enjoyed

^a Macedonians. At this time Philip the father of Alexander the Great reigned over the Macedonians, whose power was become formidable to all his neighbours.

the same tranquillity during the consulate of T. M. Torquatus and C. Plautius, only the interest of money was reduced from one to one half per cent. and debtors were allowed to discharge their debts within three years, by paying one fourth presently, and one fourth each year after. And though by this regulation, a part of the people suffered, yet the senate shewed more regard to public credit, than to the grievances of particular persons. But the greatest ease to the commons was, that no taxes were imposed upon them nor levies raised. Three years after Satricum had been rebuilt by the Volsci, M. Valerius Corvus made consul a second time with O. Pæteli^{us}, upon receiving intelligence from Latium, that deputies from Antium were going round all the Latine cantons to excite them to take arms against the Romans, was ordered to march against the Volsci before the enemy should be reinforced, and accordingly he advanced with his army to Satricum. The Antiates and the other nations of the Volsci met him there with the forces which they had levied beforehand, in case the Romans should make any motions, and as their minds were enflamed against one another by hatred of long standing, came immediately to an engagement. But as the Volsci were more prone to revolt, than brave in battle, they were defeated and fled in confusion to the walls of Satricum, and not thinking themselves safe there, the city being invested and upon the point of being taken by scale, four-thousand soldiers, besides a number of unarmed men, surrendered to the conqueror. The town was burnt and demolished; only the temple of mother Matuta^a was spared. All the booty was given to the soldiers. The four thousand men who surrendered, were not reckoned a part of it, but were bound and led before the consul's chariot, when he entered Rome in triumph, and afterwards sold by him and the money put into the public treasury. Some authors think that the multitude thus sold, were captive

T. M. Torquatus and C. Plautius, Cons.

Y. of R. 408.

B. J. C. 344.

M. Val. Corvus and O. Pæteli^{us} Cons.

Y. of R. 409.

B. J. C. 343.

^a See book vi. of our author.

bondmen, and really it seems more probable, than that they should sell soldiers who had surrendered themselves.

CHAP.

XXVIII.

M. Fabius
Dorso and
Ser. Sulpi-
cius Came-
rinus con-
suls.

Y. of R. 410.
B. J. C. 342.

L. Furius
dict. Cn.
Manlius
general of
the horse.

C. Marcius
Rutilus and
F. Man.
Torquatus
Coss.

Y. of R. 411.
B. J. C. 341.

THE following consuls were M. Fabius Dorso and Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus. A war broke out with the Aurunci, which took its rise from their making an irruption into the Roman territories. The senate, suspecting the hostilities committed by this single nation to be a conspiracy of the whole Latine states, and as if all Latium had been up in arms, created L. Furius dictator, who named Cn. Manlius Capitolinus to be his general of horse. After proclaiming a vacation of all the courts of justice, which was only done in cases of imminent danger, the dictator raised the levies without exemption, and marched the legions with all possible dispatch against the enemy, who discovering more of the spirit of robbers than of enemies, were routed in the first engagement. But as they had been the aggressors, and had not declined battle, the dictator thought he ought to have recourse to the assistance of the Gods, and in the heat of the battle, vowed a temple to Juno Moneta^a. Being charged with the performance of the same, when he returned conqueror to Rome, he resigned his office. Whereupon the senate appointed duumvirs to see that this temple should be built suitable to the power and grandeur of the Roman people. The place marked out for it was on the capitol hill, in the very area where the house of M. Manlius Capitolinus had stood. The consuls employed the dictator's army against the Volsci, and falling upon them unawares, took Sora from the enemy^b. In the consulate of C. Marcius Rutilus for the third time, and T

^a Moneta. Juno was so called either a monendo, because she gives wholesome counsel to those who consult her, or because she was believed to be the goddess of money. A temple was built to her on the capitol, in the same place where the house of the rebellious Manlius had stood, and in it were kept those mysterious

books in which the fate of Rome was pretended to be foretold. This temple afterwards became a public mint; and from thence the medals which were stamped for current coin in trade, took the name of Moneta or money.

^b This town still retains the same name.

Manlius Torquatus for the second time, a year after it had been vowed, the temple of Moneta was dedicated. Immediately after the consecration, there followed a prodigy like to that which had formerly happened on mount Alba. For it both rained stones, and the day seemed to be turned into night. Having consulted the Sibylline books, as the people were full of superstitious fears, the senate thought it proper to choose a dictator on account of instituting proper festivals. P. Valerius Poplicola was the person pitched upon, and Q. Fabius Ambustus was his general of horse: And he was not satisfied with obliging the Roman tribes to go to the temples and make their supplications, but likewise the neighboring nations; fixing the particular day and order in which each of them should pay their devotions. It is said, that severe sentences were this year passed by the people against the usurers, who were prosecuted by the ædiles for their extortion. And the government fell into an interregnum, though no remarkable reason is assigned for it. After the expiration of this magistracy, M. Valerius Corvus, and A. Cornelius Cossus, both patricians, were elected consuls, which seems to have been the design of this interregnum.

CHAP.
XXVIII.

P. Val. Pop.
dictator, Q.
Fab. Am-
bustus gene-
ral of horse.

M. Val.
Corvus, and
A. Cornelius
Cossus, con-
suls.

Y. of R. 412.
B. J. C. 340.

CHAP.
XXIX.

I AM now going to give an account of more considerable wars, both with respect to the strength of the enemy, the distance of the countries which were the scene of them, and their duration; for this very year a war commenced with the Samnites, a nation both powerful and warlike. After it had been carried on for some time with various success, Pyrrhus became the enemy of Rome, and to him succeeded the Carthaginians. What a prodigious series of difficulties were to be surmounted, and how oft hath this republic been brought into the utmost danger, before it's empire could be raised to that pitch of greatness which can scarcely be supported! But the ground of this rupture between the Samnites and Romans, is not to be sought for amongst

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XXIX.

amongst themselves, for they were then friends and allies, but took it's rise from foreigners. As the Samnites were superior to the Sidicini in strength^a, they made war unjustly upon them, and the latter being unable to defend themselves, had recourse to the Campanians, whose power they thought sufficient to protect them. But this nation gave it's allies little more than the bare name of assistance; for being a people enervated by luxury, they were defeated by the Samnites, who were inured to arms, in the country of the Sidicini, and drew upon themselves the whole stress of the war. For the enemy, thinking no more of the Sidicini, fell upon the Campanians, their protectors, over whom they expected to gain as easy a victory, and more glory and plunder. After they had secured mount^b Fifata, which overlooks Capua, with a strong garison, they marched down into the plain which lies between that hill and the city, in a square battalion. There they engaged a second time, but the Capuans were routed and driven within the walls of their city. Having lost the flower of their youth, and seeing no prospect of relief near them, they were obliged to implore the assistance of the Romans.

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XXX.

WHEN their ambassadors were admitted into the senate, they spoke much to this purpose. “The people of Campania, conscript fathers, have sent us deputies to you, to implore your assistance for the present, and your friendship for ever. Had we courted your alliance in our prosperity, though it would have begun sooner, yet it would have been held by weaker ties. For as we would remember, that we had at that time treated with

^a The country of the Sidicini lay beyond the Liris or Rigliano, and on this side the Vultuonus. It was bound on the west by the territory of the Volsci; on the east by that of the Aurunci; on the south by Campania and the Tyrrhenian sea; on the north by a part of Samnium. This country is at present one of the western parts of Terra di Lavoro.

^b This mount stood in the neighbourhood of old Capua, and overlooked that city. It is now known by the name of Il Monte san Nicola. The southern part of it, which lies towards Old Capua, is called in the language of the present native Montagnuela. It was there, according to Halstenius, that Hannibal pitched his camp.

“ you as equals, we should perhaps, be no less your
 “ friends than we now are, but not so submissive to
 “ you, nor so much at your devotion. Whereas en-
 “ deared by pity and compassion, and protected by you
 “ in our distress, we must retain a grateful sense of
 “ the kindness done us, that we may not be deemed
 “ ungrateful and unworthy of the assistance both of
 “ Gods and men. And really that the Samnites
 “ were your friends and allies before us, we don’t
 “ imagine a sufficient reason why we should not be
 “ received into your friendship, but only that they
 “ should have the precedence in point of time and
 “ degree of honor. For you did not, by your treaty
 “ with that people, engage yourselves not to con-
 “ tract new alliances with any other nation. A de-
 “ sire of becoming your friends hath always been
 “ reckoned by you a sufficient reason to grant your
 “ friendship to those that sought it. And though
 “ the present condition of us Campanians does not
 “ allow us to speak magnificently of ourselves, yet
 “ as we are inferior to no nation but Rome for the
 “ grandeur of our city and the fruitfulness of our
 “ dominions, our being received into your friend-
 “ ship will, we persuade ourselves, be no small ac-
 “ cession to your power in it’s present flourishing con-
 “ dition. Besides, whenever the Æqui and Volsci,
 “ your eternal enemies, shall make future attempts
 “ against you, we will be ready to fall on their
 “ backs; and what you shall have done first for our
 “ safety, we will always do for your glory and em-
 “ pire. And when you shall have subdued those
 “ nations between us and you, which your courage
 “ and good fortune promise will be effected in a
 “ short time, your dominions will extend in one
 “ continued tract even to us. But at present it is
 “ a very hard and lamentable case to own what our
 “ hard fortune obliges us to confess. Conscript fa-
 “ thers, we are reduced to that pass, that we must
 “ either become subject to our friends or our ene-
 “ mies. If you defend us, we will be yours; if
 “ you forsake us, we must submit to the Samnites.

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XXX.

“ Consider therefore, whether you would rather have
 “ Capua and all Campania as an addition to your
 “ strength, or to that of the Samnites. It is rea-
 “ sonable, Romans, that your compassion should ex-
 “ tend to all nations in distress, but especially to
 “ those who have been reduced to that necessity, by
 “ assisting even beyond their strength their neigh-
 “ bors, who implored their aid. Though we fought in
 “ appearance for the Sidicini, yet it was in reality
 “ for ourselves, when we saw them attacked by the
 “ Samnites, and that the flame, after consuming
 “ them, would pass over to us. The Samnites do
 “ not come to attack us, because they are sorry that
 “ we have done them an injury, but because they
 “ are glad that we have furnished them with a pre-
 “ text to fall upon us. If it was only a desire of
 “ revenge, and not an opportunity of gratifying
 “ their ambition, which spurred them on, would
 “ they not have been contented with destroying our
 “ legions first in the country of the Sidicini, and af-
 “ terwards in Campania itself? What resentment is so
 “ unrelenting which the blood shed in those two bat-
 “ tles cannot satiate? Besides, our lands are pillaged,
 “ numbers of men and cattle are carried off by them,
 “ our farm-houses are burnt and demolished, and
 “ every thing destroyed by fire and sword. Were
 “ not these calamities sufficient to gratify their re-
 “ sentment? No! their ambition must be gratified too.
 “ It is that hurries them on to lay siege to Capua, and
 “ they will either destroy that city so distinguished
 “ for its beauty, or possess it themselves. But do
 “ you, Romans, make yourselves masters of it by
 “ your friendly behavior, rather than suffer them
 “ to seize it by violence and injustice. I now ad-
 “ dress a people who use not to decline entering in
 “ a war if it is just, yet if you only make a shew
 “ assisting us, I do not suppose you will have an
 “ occasion to use arms. The contempt of the Sam-
 “ nites hath reached unto us, but extends not to you
 “ who are above it. For this reason, Romans, the be-
 “ shadow of your assistance is able to protect us, a

“ for the future whatever we shall possess, and what-
 “ ever our condition shall be, we shall reckon every
 “ thing we have to be yours. For you we will cul-
 “ tivate the land of Campania, and for you we will
 “ inhabit the city of Capua. We shall esteem you
 “ among the number of our founders, our parents
 “ and our Gods. None of your colonies shall exceed
 “ us in obedience and fidelity. Give us some sign
 “ then, conscript fathers, that you take us under
 “ your divine protection, give us reason to hope that
 “ Capua shall be saved by your means. What prodi-
 “ gious crowds of people of all ranks, do you ima-
 “ gine attended us, when we set out from thence
 “ on our journey? What vows did they make?
 “ What floods of tears did they shed? With what
 “ impatience do the senate and people of Campania,
 “ our wives and children wait for our return? I am
 “ certain that the whole inhabitants of the city are
 “ standing at the gates, looking towards the road
 “ which leads from Rome, under the greatest anxi-
 “ ety and concern to know the answer which you
 “ shall order us to carry back. A favorable one will
 “ carry them safety, victory, liberty and life. But I
 “ shudder to think, what consternation the contrary
 “ will occasion. For this reason, you must come to
 “ a resolution, that we shall be your friends and
 “ allies, or be no people at all.”

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XXX.

A F T E R the Deputies were withdrawn, the
 senate took the message into their consideration, and
 though it appeared to many of the members that
 Capua was the greatest and richest city of Italy, and
 its land, being very fruitful and bordering upon
 the sea, would serve as a granary to the Roman peo-
 ple in times of scarcity, yet a regard to treaties pre-
 vailed over all these considerations of interest, and the
 consul, by order of the senate, returned them this
 answer, “ the senate of Rome, Campanians, think
 you worthy of their assistance; but it is equitable
 to enter into friendship with you in such a man-
 VOL. II. T ner,

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“ ner, as not to violate treaties and alliances of an
 “ older standing. The Samnites are our allies, and
 “ for that reason, we absolutely refuse to take arms
 “ against them ; this would be more offensive to
 “ the Gods, than to men. But we will, in confor-
 “ mity to divine and human laws, send deputies to
 “ the Samnites our friends and allies to intreat them
 “ to put a stop to their hostilities.” Upon this, the
 chief of the ambassadors, agreeable to the powers
 with which they were vested, declared, “ since you
 “ Romans refuse to defend our property, against
 “ the violence and injustice of our enemies, by open
 “ force, you will at least defend your own. For this
 “ reason, conscript fathers, we now surrender into the
 “ hands of the Roman people the Campanians and
 “ the city of Capua, their lands, the temples of their
 “ Gods and all that belongs to them whether sacred
 “ or profane. What miseries we shall suffer for the
 “ future, we shall suffer as your subjects and vassals.”
 After he had said this, all the deputies fell prostrate
 on their knees in the porch of the senate-house, and
 stretching out their hands to the consuls, burst out
 into a flood of tears. The fathers were deeply af-
 fected at this surprizing vicissitude of human affairs,
 when they saw a people so remarkable for luxury,
 pride, and opulence that their neighbors had im-
 plored their assistance, now dispirited to such a degree,
 as to surrender themselves and all that belonged to
 them into the hands of strangers. They then thought,
 they were obliged in honor not to betray a people
 who had surrendered themselves into their hands,
 and thought that the Samnites would act an unfair
 part, if they should commit any hostilities against a city
 and territory which was become, by donation, the
 property of the Roman people. Wherefore they
 determined to send ambassadors immediately to the
 Samnites ; and their instructions were to represent to
 them, “ the earnest application the Campanians had
 “ made to Rome, the strict regard which the senate
 “ in their answer had shewed to their alliance with
 “ the

“ the Samnites, and lastly the surrender which they
 “ had made of their whole state to the republic.
 “ They were also instructed to intreat them, on ac-
 “ count of the old friendship and alliance between the
 “ two nations, to spare a people who had surrendered
 “ themselves to them, and not to invade a territory
 “ which was become Roman. But if the Samnites
 “ were not to be prevailed on by these gentle methods,
 “ they should give them notice in the name of the
 “ senate and people of Rome to withdraw from the
 “ city Capua and the territory of Campania.” When
 the deputies had made this representation to the senate
 of Samnium, they received a very haughty answer,
 for the Samnites not only declared that they would
 continue the war, but their magistrates coming out of
 the senate house called the commanders of their
 troops, in presence of the ambassadors, and ordered
 them to go instantly and ravage Campania.

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WHEN the deputies returned to Rome, all
 other business was laid aside, the senate sent feciales
 to the Samnites to demand satisfaction, and upon
 their refusing to grant it, declared war against them
 in due form ; resolving to lay the matter before the
 people with the first convenience. In consequence
 of a resolution of the commons, the two consuls set
 out from the city at the head of two armies Valerius
 marched into Campania, and posted himself on
 mount Gaurus^a. Cornelius marched into Samnium
 and encamped at Saticula^b. The Samnite legions
 came to oppose Valerius first, for they thought the
 whole stress of the war would lye there. Besides,
 they were fired with resentment against the Campa-
 nians, because they had been as ready to assist their
 neighbors, as to demand aid for themselves. But

CHAP.
X .XII.

^a This mountain, according to Pliny,
 b. xiv. was formerly famous for the
 goodness of it's wines ; it is not far
 from Puteoli, Baiæ, and the lake
 Lucrinus, and is now called Il Monte
 Barbaro.

^b A city in Samnium lying to the
 east of Capua. Virgil, book vii.
 says that the inhabitants of it led a
 laborious life, pariterque Saticulus
 asper.

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XXXII.

when they saw the Roman camp, they all earnestly pressed their generals to give them the signal to battle, and assured them that the succors, which the Romans had brought the Campanians, should meet with the same fate with those which the latter had sent to the Sidicini. Valerius after spending a few days in flight skirmishes with the enemy, in order to try their courage and manner of fighting, gave the signal to battle, and encouraged his men briefly, “not to be afraid of a new war and a new enemy. He told them that the further they carried their arms from Rome, the nations had less courage. “They should not judge of the valor of the Samnites “by their defeating the Sidicini and Campanians. That “however brave the contending parties might be, “one of them necessarily must be defeated by the “other. But the truth was, the Campanians were rather “enervated by an excess of luxury and effeminacy, “than overcome by the bravery of their enemies. “What comparison could be made between two “battles gained by the Samnites in so many ages, “and the series of victories obtained by the Romans, “who, since the foundation of their city, might “reckon almost as many triumphs as years? Who “had subdued by force of arms all the nations “round them, the Sabines, Hetrurians, Latines, “Hernici, Æqui, Volsci and Aurunci? Who had de- “feated the Gauls in so many battles, and after rout- “ing the Greeks *, obliged them to retire to their “ships and put to sea? As every man ought to “march to battle relying on his own bravery and “renown in war, he ought likewise to consider un- “der whose conduct and auspices he is to engage. “Whether his general be a man who only makes “pompous harangues, and is brave in words, but “has no experience in military affairs? Or one who

* Something seems to be wanting in the original, since our author in no other place that we know of, mentions the Romans driving the

Gauls from the continent to their ships, therefore we have with Latinius added the word Græcos.

“ knows to handle his arms, advance boldly at the
 “ head of his troops, and expose himself in the hot-
 “ test of the battle? Romans, said he, I don’t de-
 “ fire you to regard my words, but my actions, and
 “ not only to learn of me military discipline, but to
 “ follow my example. It was not by faction and
 “ caballing, practices usual among noblemen, but
 “ by this right-hand, I have thrice obtained the con-
 “ sulship, and acquired the highest glory. There
 “ was a time, when it might have been said to me,
 “ you are a patrician, descended from the deliverers
 “ of your country, and your family enjoyed the con-
 “ sulship the same year the office was founded in this
 “ city. But now the consulship is open to us patri-
 “ cians and to you plebeians without distinction, and
 “ is not as formerly the reward of birth but of merit.
 “ Even you, fellow soldiers, may aspire to the
 “ highest honors and preferments. Though you
 “ Romans in concert with the Gods gave me the
 “ surname of Corvus, yet I have not forgot that
 “ of Poplicola, the ancient surname of our fami-
 “ ly. I always honored and do honor the Ro-
 “ man people in peace and war, both in a private
 “ station, and when I bore offices of state whether
 “ small or great. My zeal for your interest was
 “ equal when military tribune and consul, and in this
 “ disposition I have continued steady throughout
 “ the course of all my consulships. As to what now
 “ remains, do ye in conjunction with me, by the
 “ assistance of the Gods, strive to gain the honors of
 “ a new and complete triumph over the Samnites.”

NEVER did a general live more familiarly with CHAP.
 his men, for he shared all manner of duty with the XXXIII.
 meanest soldiers. Besides, he always made one at
 their military diversions, where equals contended
 with one another in wrestling and running, and
 whether victorious or vanquished in these exercises,
 he behaved with the greatest courtesy and ease,
 never changed countenance, nor did he disdain to

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enter the lists with any antagonist that offered himself to take him up. He was liberal in bestowing favors according to the circumstances of times and persons, and in his conversation, shewed no less regard to the liberty of others, than to the maintaining his own dignity. And lastly, he discharged all offices with the same popular arts by which he had acquired them, the surest method to win the affections of the people. The whole army animated by the exhortations of their general, with wonderful chearfulness marched out of their camp. Never did two armies engage with more equal hopes and strength, or with more confidence in their own bravery, and less contempt of their enemy. The late achievements of the Samnites, and the two victories which they had gained a few days before, inspired them with high spirits. On the other hand the Romans were animated by the triumphs of four hundred years, and a continual series of victories which commenced with their city. Each army stood in awe of an enemy they had never engaged with, and the battle which ensued is a proof of the extraordinary courage of both. For they fought with so much resolution, that for a long time the victory did not incline to either side. Upon this, the consul thought he ought to intimidate an enemy, he could not conquer by force, and he attempted to break their lines by ordering his horse to fall upon them. But upon seeing them cooped up in so narrow a place, and in such confusion, that they endeavored in vain to wheel, and were unable to open themselves a way through the enemy, he rode back to the van-guard of the legions, and alighting off his horse, said to the foot, “It is you, fellow soldiers, who must do the business. Come, follow my example, and as you shall see me, sword in hand, opening a passage through the enemy, wherever I charge, do you cut down all that oppose you. You will soon see that ground where these lances stand like a forest cleared by the slaughter we shall make among the Samnites.” He had no sooner said this, but the hor

horse by his order filed off to the wings, and made way for the legions to charge the enemy in the center. He first begun the attack himself, and had the good fortune to cut off the head of the man with whom he engaged. The soldiers, animated with his fight, begun to fight very bravely both on the right and left ; and the Samnites, though they received more wounds than they gave, still kept their ground. The battle had lasted a considerable time, many were slain round the Samnite standards, but none of them had fled, so resolute were they to be conquered by death only. Upon this, when the Romans perceived that their strength begun to flag, and the day was far spent, they were fired with indignation and encouraged one another to fall upon the enemy with fresh fury. Then indeed the Samnites seemed first to give way, and soon after that to fly : a great number of them was slain, and many were taken prisoners ; in short few of them would have escaped alive, if the night had not put an end rather to the victory than to the battle. The Romans confessed that they had never engaged a more stubborn enemy, and when they asked the Samnites what was the first thing that made them fly, after they had made such an obstinate resistance, they answered, “ that the eyes of the Romans appeared to them to be on fire, that their looks seemed furious and their countenances enflamed, and that these had struck more terror into them, than any thing else.” Nor did they only discover their fear by the manner in which they ended the battle. but also by the precipitate march which they made the next night. For the day following the consul took possession of their camp which the enemy had abandoned, and there he received the compliments of the Campanians, who came in crowds to congratulate him as their deliverer.

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XXXIII.

BUT the joy on account of this victory was damp by a terrible disaster, which the army in Samnium had like to have suffered. For the consul

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Cornelius, having left Saticula, inconsiderately led his army into a forest, beset on all sides by the enemy, and out of which there was but one passage, which lay through a deep valley, nor did he observe the enemy above his head, till it was impossible for him to retreat with safety. While the Samnites waited till the whole army should descend into the bottom of the valley, P. Decius Mus, a legionary tribune observed an eminence in the forest over-looking the enemy's camp, which was indeed difficult to be gained by an army encumbered with their baggage, but where a detachment of light armed men might easily come. Upon which he said to the consul who was in the utmost consternation, "don't you, A. Cornelius, see yonder eminence above the enemy. That is the only source of our hopes and preservation, which the enemy have blindly neglected, if we speedily take possession of it. To effect this, you shall give me only the two first lines of one legion. And when I shall have gained the top of it, continue your march without any fear, and save yourself and your army. The enemy, being exposed to our darts, will not be able to make any attempt against you, but what must end in their own destruction. As for us, either the good fortune of the Roman people or our own bravery shall disengage us." Being highly commended by the consul, he took his way through the wood with the detachment under his command, and concealed his march so well, that the enemy did not see him till he was nigh the post he was going to seize. This sight surprized the Samnites so much, that all their eyes were turned towards him, the consul had time to gain a safer post, and he to possess himself of the top of the hill. In the mean time the Samnites, after making several motions, sometimes against the one, and sometimes against the other, lost the opportunity of falling upon either, for they could not pursue the consul without passing through the same valley in which the

momen

moment before he had been exposed to their darts, nor could they march their army up the hill above them, where Decius was posted. But as their resentment was greater against the latter, who had wrested this convenient opportunity out of their hands, the highness of the place, and the smallness of their number likewise encouraged them to fall upon them; and one while they were for investing the hill with armed men to prevent Decius from re-joining the consul, another they were inclined to open a way for them, that they might attack them when they had marched down into the valley. But before they came to any resolution, night came upon them. Decius at first expected they would attempt to dislodge him, and that he should engage them with advantage from the rising ground. But he was surprized when he found that they neither attacked him, nor yet surrounded him with a moat and rampart, since they were deterred from charging him by the disadvantage of the ground. Upon which he assembled his centurions and addressed them in this manner. “What ignorance and laziness do our enemies discover? How have they obtained a victory over the Sidicini and Campanians? We see their standards moving hither and thither, we observe them sometimes extending themselves, and sometimes crowded together. Though we might have been already surrounded by them, yet no body begins to invest us. We shall really be as indolent as they, if we tarry in this place, after we can conveniently get out of it. Come then with me, and while day-light lasts, let us view the place where the enemy may plant their guards, the avenues through which we may escape!” He went round all these places in a soldier’s habit^a, and

^a The Sagum of the Romans was a military habit, open from top to bottom, and usually fastened on the right shoulder with a buckle, or a clasp. Its shape was the same with that of the Paludamentum of the generals and the Chlamys of the Greeks. The only difference between them was, that the Paludamentum was made of a richer stuff, was generally of a purple color, and both longer and fuller than the Sagum.

took his centurions along with him dressed in the same manner, that the enemy might not observe it was the Roman commander who came to view them.

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AFTER he had posted proper sentinels, he ordered to give the rest of the army a watch-word, that as soon as the trumpet had sounded the second watch ^a of the night, they should silently return to him with their arms. When they were assembled, according to order, without the least noise he said, “Fellow-soldiers, you must hear me with silence
“and without giving your votes by loud acclamations. When I shall have told you my opinion,
“then you who approve the same, shall move
“to my right, for I will be determined by the majority. Hear now what I have to say, It was not
“by flight that we came hither, nor were we left
“here to be surrounded by the enemy for want
“of courage. Your valor brought you to this post,
“and ’tis by that alone you must make your way
“back. By coming hither you have saved a
“fine Roman army, by breaking out again, do you
“save yourselves. Such a small number of brave
“fellows, who have saved so many legions by their
“intrepidity, will need no assistance from others to
“save themselves. We have to do with an enemy,
“who through their negligence lost an opportunity
“yesterday of destroying all our army to a man
“an enemy who did not see this advantageous post

^a The Romans divided the night into four equal parts. At each of these the soldiers mounted guard in their turns. At every station, four sentinels were placed, who were relieved by four others, after the first watch and so on successively. In order to prevent any surprize, the general gave the legionary tribunes the watch word a little before the sun was down, written on tables of wood. These tribunes communicated these tables to a chosen number of soldiers, called for that reason Tesserarii.

They were chosen out of any part of the army, whether horse or foot or auxiliaries. These men, whose business it was to do it, went among the legions and distributed these tables among the centurions, who communicated them to the centurions so that one of these little tables called Tesseræ, was conveyed from hand first to the lowest centurion, and then to the next above him, and so on to the first centurion, who returned it to the tribune. This was the method of giving soldiers the word.

above their heads till we had seized it. They have not with all their numerous army prevented us from gaining this eminence, nor have they, since we were in possession of it, raised any works against us, though they had so much day light remaining. You must surprize them when asleep, after you have eluded them so when awake and having their eyes open. Besides, necessity obliges you to it. For such is the situation of your affairs, that I may be said rather to tell you the necessity you are under, than to propose any advice of my own. For it cannot be a question now, whether you ought to stay here, or march away from this place, seeing fortune hath left you nothing but your arms and courage to use them. We must die by hunger and thirst, if we dread the sword of the enemy more than becomes brave men and Romans. The only way to save ourselves, is to cut our way through them and march off; and this we must do either by day or night. The time we must choose can admit of no dispute, for if we shall wait till day-light, what hopes can we have, but the enemy will enclose us with a rampart and ditch? You see they have already beset the hill and posted their troops round us on all sides. But if the night is the most convenient time for us to break out, as it really is, then certainly this is the most seasonable hour. You assembled at the sound of the second watch, when men are buried in the deepest sleep. You will make your way through the sleeping battalions, and pass along silently undiscovered by them, or you will be ready to frighten them with your shouts, if they shall observe you. Only follow me, as you have hitherto done; I will follow the same good fortune which conducted us hither. Let those who approve what I have said, pass over as quickly as they can to the right."

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THEY

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THEY all passed over to a man, and followed Decius through these avenues where the enemies had neglected to post guards. They had already passed through one half of the camp, when a soldier in climbing over the guards that lay fast asleep, struck against the buckler of a Samnite, and with the noise awakened him. Upon this the sentinel pushed his comrade who lay next to him, and they two roused others, not knowing whether they were friends or foes, who had given this alarm, or whether Decius's party was breaking out, or if the consul had taken their camp. Decius finding they were discovered, ordered his men to give a great shout, and as the enemy were benumbed with sleep, he quite stunned them with fear. To such a degree were they damped that they could not run quickly to their arms, oppose the passage of the Romans, nor dare to pursue them. During this terror and confusion, Decius's party having slain the sentinels they found in their way, was got nigh to the consul's camp. It was not yet day, and as they seemed to be out of the reach of danger, Decius said
 " fellow soldiers, you have behaved like Romans
 " All ages will celebrate your march and your
 " retreat. But sunshine and day-light will be ne-
 " cessary to display such uncommon virtue in its
 " proper light. You have deserved to make your
 " entry into the camp in a more glorious man-
 " ner, than in silence and darkness. Let us wait
 " here quietly till day-light." They complied accordingly, and as soon as it was day, they dispatched a courier to the consul, the camp was transported with the utmost joy, and when the news was communicated to the troops that those men were returned safe, who had exposed themselves to save the lives of the whole army, at the highest peril of their own, every body ran to meet them; they received them with the highest praises and gratulations, and stiled them all in general their deliverers. They extol

tolled Decius to the skies, and returned the high-
thanksgivings and praises to their Gods. Thus
Decius enter in a triumphant manner into the
camp. He marched through the middle of it, sur-
rounded by his party in arms. All eyes were fixed
upon him, and the soldiers paid the same honors to
the tribune which they did to the consul. As soon
as he was arrived at the general's quarters^a, the con-
sul assembled his army by sound of trumpet, and
began to give Decius the commendations he de-
served, but the tribune himself having interrupted
him, he put off the assembly. Decius advised the
consul to delay his harangues till another time, and
earnestly persuaded him to fall upon the enemy while
they were in a consternation with the last night's fright,
and dispersed from post to post round the emi-
nence. He told him, he believed that some de-
tachments, which had been sent out after him, were
yet wandering through the forest. According to this
advice, the consul ordered the legions to arms. They
left their camp, and having now a better know-
ledge of the forest by means of their scouts, they
were conducted to the enemy through wider ways than
they had before passed. The Samnites, who expect-
ing nothing less than to be attacked so briskly by
the Romans, were strolling about the fields, and
most of them without their arms. And as they could
neither rally, take arms, nor retire within their en-
renchments, they were first driven in this conster-
nation to their camp, and the guards being routed,
the Romans made themselves masters of it. The cries
were heard by those Samnites who had been placed
round the hill. They were all terrified and fled
from their posts, without so much as seeing the ene-
my. Those whom fear had driven into their lines

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^a Our author calls the general's quarters *Prætorium*, from the name of *Prætor*, which was given to all persons in general who were invested with a supreme authority. Quintus Curtius, Justin and Cornelius Nepos, often use the word *Prætorium* to signify the quarters of the king's and foreign officers at the head of the troops.

to the number of thirty thousand were all slain to man, and their camp plundered.

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xxxvii.

AFTER this glorious success, the consul having called an assembly, not only harangued ^a as he had begun in commendation of Decius, but bestowed upon him additional praises for the late signal service he had done the republic. Besides all other military rewards, he presented him with a crown of gold, an hundred oxen, and a bull of remarkable beauty and whiteness with gilded horns. He assigned the soldiers, who had accompanied Decius, a double quantity of corn, not only for the present, but for their life, and gave each of them an ox and two single tunics. The legions likewise signalized their gratitude to Decius, for they made a crown ^b of grass, such as was usually given to him who raised a siege, and put it on his head, amidst the acclamations of the army. His detachment put another crown on him as a mark that he had deserved the same honor from them. And thus adorned with these badges of distinction, he sacrificed the bull with the gilded horns to Mars, and distributed the hundred oxen among the men who had been his companions in the expedition. The rest of the legions likewise made them a present of some pounds of meal and measures ^c of wine; and all these honors were at

^a The Roman generals, in all ages, used to harangue their troops, either before any important expedition to encourage them to fight; or after the action to give those their due commendations, who had distinguished themselves by their valor. And then it was he used to distribute the military rewards among the brave. He was usually raised upon a tribunal of earth, or stone; but sometimes harangued on horseback.

^b The crown which was given to him who had delivered the Romans or their allies from a siege, was called obsidionalis. It was not like the other crowns which were given by the generals to the soldiers, but presented by the common consent of the sol-

diers to the general, and was composed of the grass growing in the besieged place.

^c The Sextarius of the Romans was a liquid measure, containing weight twenty ounces; that is, was the sixth part of the congius and the forty eighth part of the amphora of the ancients. So that the Roman Sextarius was equal in content to two heminae or twelve byathi, which were a sort of cufis or bowls which held about one half ounce of liquor more or less, according to the weight of the liquor. The Sextarius, according to Dr. Arbuthnot, contained one pint five thousand six hundred and thirty-six parts of wine measure.

tend

ended with general shouts, to shew that the whole army were unanimous in paying them. There was a third battle fought near Sueffula, where M. Valerius routed the Samnites who had sent for all the flower of their youth in order to try the last chance of war; couriers were sent in a hurry from Sueffula to Capua, and from thence some horse came post to Valerius, the consul, to intreat him to come to their relief. He set out immediately for Sueffula, and having left a strong guard with the baggage in his camp, proceeded on his march with the utmost dispatch. When he was not far from the enemy, he chose out a very narrow spot of ground to encamp upon, for he had only brought with him his horse, having left the other beasts of burden and servants behind. Upon this the Samnites put their troops in battalia, and hopes that the Romans would immediately give them battle; but when they saw that they did not march out to meet them, they came up to their camp in order of battle. But when they saw the Roman soldiers on the ramparts, and the spies who were sent out on all sides to view the camp, had reported that it was contracted within a very narrow space, and from thence inferred that the number of the enemy was but small, the whole Samnite army cried out, that they ought to fill up the ditches of the Roman camp, make a breach in the lines, and enter them by force. And they had certainly attempted to do this, if the officers had not restrained the impetuosity of the soldiers. Moreover, as their numbers consumed much provisions, by their continuing before Sueffula, and the Romans delaying to give them battle, they began to want all kinds of necessities. This made them resolve to send out detachments to get provisions in the country, while the Romans were confined within their camp through fear. For they imagined that as they had come without their baggage, and could have no more provisions than every soldier had carried on his shoulders with his arms, they would soon be in want of every thing.

CHAP. thing. Upon which, the consul seeing them dispersed through the country, and a small guard only left to defend their lines, encouraged his men and led them directly to storm their camp, and setting up a great shout, he took it at the first attack. More of the enemy were slain in their tents, than on the ramparts and at the gates. Valerius ordered all the standards which had been taken, to be brought into one place, and leaving two legions to keep and guard the camp, with the strictest orders not to meddle with the plunder before his return, set out with the rest of his forces in order of battle, and the horse which he had detached before, having surrounded the Samnites who were scattered up and down through the fields, as it were into a net, he made a terrible slaughter of them. For their fright prevented them from observing any signal to rally, neither did they know whether they should return to their camp or fly to a greater distance. And so great was their consternation, that after the action they brought to the consul forty thousand bucklers, not that so great a number of the Samnites were slain, and military standards with those that were taken in the camp to the number of one hundred and seventy. Then Valerius returned to the enemy's camp and granted all the plunder thereof to his men.

CHAP. THE event of this battle obliged the Falisci who had already made a truce with the Romans to beg a treaty of alliance with them, and made the Latine who had taken up arms to employ them against the republic, to turn them against the Peligni. Nor was the fame of their victory confined to Italy, for the Carthaginians sent ambassadors to Rome to compliment them on their success, with a crown of gold of twenty five pounds weight to be set up in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Both the consuls triumphed over the Samnites. Decius walked after them with great pomp, adorned with the crowns he had received, and the soldiers in their rude jests mentioned

the name with no less praise than they did those of the CHAP.
 consuls. Then the deputies of Capua and Sueffula XXXVIII.

had an audience, and at their earnest request, garri-
 sons were sent to winter in those places to check the
 incursions of the Samnites. Capua was even at this
 time pernicious to military discipline: the allurements
 of all manner of pleasures wherewith it abounded,
 bewitched the minds of the soldiers and made them
 forget their native country: and they formed a plot
 in their winter quarters of seizing Capua for them-
 selves, by committing the same cruelties, which the
 Campanians had done in taking it from it's former
 possessors. "It would be justice, said they, to turn
 "the example, which they have set us, against
 "themselves. Why should the most fruitful land
 "of Italy, and a city suitable to the soil, be ra-
 "ther possessed by the Campanians, who can neither
 "defend themselves nor their property, than by a
 "victorious army, who have driven the Samnites
 "out of those places with great labor and at the ex-
 "pence of their blood? Or is it reasonable that those,
 "who have surrendered themselves to us, should
 "enjoy this pleasant and fertile country, while we,
 "after all the fatigues of war, are obliged either
 "to struggle with a barren unwholesom soil near
 "Rome, or to live in the city and languish un-
 "der the surviving plague of usury which grows up-
 "on us every day?" The new consul C. Marcius

Rutilus, to whom the province of Campania fell by
 lot, having left his colleague Q. Servilius at Rome,
 got information of their designs which they had not
 communicated to all the garison, but had talked of
 in some secret cabals. This general being a person
 well skilled in government by reason of his great
 age and experience, was now consul for the fourth
 time, and had likewise been dictator and censor.
 Wherefore, when he had made a complete discovery
 of every thing relating to the plot, by means of the
 legionary tribunes, he judged it most adviseable to
 frustrate the impetuosity of the soldiers by indulging

C. Marcius
 Rutilus and
 Q. Servilius
 consuls.
 Y. of R. 413.
 B. J. C. 339.

CHAP. them in the hopes of putting their scheme in execu-
 xxxviii. tion whenever they pleased, and for this reason he
 spread a report that the garison should winter in the
 same towns the next year. For they were quartered
 in the cities of Campania, and from Capua the design
 was communicated to the rest of the army. Thus
 having time given them to bethink themselves, the
 sedition was prevented from breaking out at this
 season.

CHAP. THE consul, having taken the field in the sum-
 xxxix. mer, resolved, while the Samnites were quiet, to
 rid his army of these seditious men by discharg-
 ing them. He told some of them, “that they had
 “served as long as the laws required,” others he
 dismissed “as being worn out with age, or too in-
 “firm to do duty.” Besides, he first dismissed
 them one by one, and afterwards sent away whole
 cohorts upon furloughs, because they had wintered
 at a distance from their houses and families. He
 rid himself of many of them, by sending them
 into different places under pretext of military du-
 ty. All these his colleague Servilius and the præ-
 tor detained at Rome, by continually starting fresh
 obstacles to prevent their return. And at first in-
 deed, as they were ignorant of the artifice, they
 marched home willingly. But afterwards when
 they saw that those who went first away did not re-
 turn, and that he discharged no soldiers but such
 as had wintered in Campania, particularly the au-
 thors of the sedition, they were astonished and filled
 with the strongest fears that their design had taken
 air, “and they must soon submit to suffer pu-
 “nishment in secret, and be exposed to the cruel
 “and extravagant tyranny of the consuls and se-
 “nators.” Such were the secret discourses of
 the soldiers in the camp upon observing that the
 main-springs of their enterprize were broken by the
 address of the consul. One cohort in particular,
 which

which was quartered not far from Anxur^a, deserted and posted themselves in a narrow defile, named Latulæ, between the sea and the mountains, with a design to intercept those whom the consul, as we mentioned above, dismissed under various pretexts. They soon became a powerful body, and wanted nothing but a general to make them a regular army. Then without observing any order, they entered and plundered the Alban territory, pitched their camp at the foot of Alba longa, and fortified it with a rampart. After they had finished their works, they spent the rest of the day in deliberating about the choice of a general. And as they had not sufficient confidence in any of their own number, the question was “whom they could send for from Rome to command them? What patrician or plebeian would wittingly expose himself to so great danger, or to whom could they in prudence entrust the cause of an army, which was become mad by oppression?” The day following, as they were deliberating upon the same subject, a soldier who had been a foraging in the country, said that he had got certain information that T. Quinctius was cultivating a farm in the territory of Tusculum, regardless of Rome and its honors. This man who was a patrician, having been lamed by a wound he received in the foot, and obliged to lay aside the profession of a soldier in which he had behaved with great glory, had resolved to retire to

^a This was the name which the ancient Volsci gave the city of Terracina which stood on the borders of the Pomptin marches. Horace B. i. Sat. 5. tells us that it was situated on a rock.

—Sabinus
Impositum saxi, latè candentibus
Anxur.

A little above this city, near the river Ufens, now the Aufento, there was a neck of land or narrow passage between the sea on one hand, and mountains on the other, and this was what was called Latulæ. It

was in the road to Fundi. Varro derives the name Lautulæ from the verb lavare. There were two places, the one within and the other without the city of Rome, called by the same name from the springs of hot waters in which the Romans bathed themselves. The Lautulæ near Anxur was probably so called either because it was washed with rivulets from the neighbouring springs, or was overflowed with torrents from the mountains, or lastly, because it lay bordering upon the sea and the Pomptin marshes.

CHAP. the country and pass the remainder of his life with-
 xxxix. out ambition, and at a distance from the hurry of
 public business. They no sooner heard his name, than
 they knew him, and praying that their resolution
 might prove auspicious, ordered him to be sent for.
 However they had little hopes that he would con-
 sent, and therefore they resolved to use threats and
 violence. Accordingly they dispatched a party of
 soldiers on purpose, who entering his rural habi-
 tation in the dead of the night, found him fast a sleep,
 and after offering him the command of the army,
 and threatening him with death, if he refused, with-
 out leaving him any other choice, carried him with
 them to the camp. When he arrived there, they
 saluted him as general, and while he was surpriz-
 ed at this unexpected affair, they brought him the
 ensigns of that office, and ordered him to head
 them to Rome. Accordingly they pulled up their
 standards immediately, and following rather their
 own violent passions than the directions of a general,
 advanced within eight miles of Rome, in the road,
 since called the Appian way. They would have
 proceeded directly to the city, if they had not been
 informed that M. Valerius Corvus had been created
 dictator, and L. Æmilius Mamercinus his general of
 the horse, and that they were setting out with an
 army to make head against them.

M. Val.
 Corvus dic-
 tator, L.
 Æmil.
 Mamerci-
 nus general
 of horse.

CHAP. A S soon as the two armies came in sight of one
 XL. another, and the mutineers knew the Roman arms
 and standards, the remembrance of their country
 immediately abated their resentment. They were
 not yet become so barbarous as to shed the blood of
 their fellow-citizens; the Romans had known no
 wars but with foreigners, and their fury had carried
 them no greater lengths than to make a secession. For
 this reason the generals and soldiers on both sides de-
 sired a conference. Quinctius was tired with bearing
 arms in defence of his country, and had no inclina-
 tion to fight against it. Corvus, who had a great
 affection



affection for all his fellow-citizens, but particularly for the soldiers, and above all others, those of his own army, immediately advanced into the middle space between the two armies. As soon as he appeared, the mutineers, who knew him, shewed no less respect to his person, and listened to him with no less attention than his own men, when he harangued them as follows. “ Fellow-soldiers, when I set out from Rome, I prayed to the immortal Gods, our common guardians and protectors, and earnestly besought them to grant me the glory of reconciling you to your country, and not conquering you by force of arms. Foreigners have already, and will still afford me sufficient opportunities to signalize my valor in war; the glory I desire from you, is to procure you peace. This is what I earnestly begged of the immortal Gods in my prayers, and this you have in your power to grant me, if you do but remember that you are not encamped in Samnium, nor in the territories of the Volsci, but in the dominions of Rome. If you do but consider that these hills, which you behold, belong to your native country, and the army that appears against you is composed of your fellow-citizens; that I am your consul, under whose conduct you routed the Samnite legions twice last year, and twice took their camp by assault. Yes, soldiers, I am that Valerius Corvus, whose noble descent you never felt by his oppressing you, but by doing you many favors; who never was the author of any severe law, nor of any cruel decree of senate inconsistent with your interest, and who in all my military commands have been severer to myself, than to you. And yet if birth, valor, dignity, and honors, could puff one up with pride, I was born of such noble parents, have given such proofs of personal courage, and got the consulship so young, at the age of three and twenty, that I might have been insolent not only to the people, but even to

CHAP.

XL.



“ the senate. Did you hear when I was consul,
 “ that I did any action more imperious, or uttered a
 “ word more injurious than when I was tribune?
 “ I have discharged two consulships since that time
 “ in the same manner, and will behave with the same
 “ moderation in my dictatorship, though an office
 “ attended with absolute power, not shewing more
 “ tender regard to those who fight for their country,
 “ than to you, who, I dread to speak it, are it's de-
 “ clared enemies. You therefore shall first draw your
 “ swords against me, before I draw mine against you.
 “ If we must fight, you shall give the signal to battle,
 “ you shall set up the first shout and begin the attack.
 “ Take a resolution which never entered into the
 “ thoughts of your fathers and grandfathers, either
 “ when they retired to the sacred mount, or when
 “ they posted themselves on the Aventine hill. Do
 “ you wait till your mothers and wives come from
 “ the city, with their hair dishevelled, to meet you
 “ as they formerly did Coriolanus. The legions
 “ of the Volsci at that time stopt their fury, be-
 “ cause they were commanded by a Roman ge-
 “ neral, and will not you, who are Romans, de-
 “ sist from an unnatural war? As for you T. Quin-
 “ ctius; whether you took this command upon
 “ you willingly, or was forced to put yourself at
 “ their head, if we must fight, do you retire to
 “ the rear of the army, it will be more for your ho-
 “ nor to fly and to turn your back before your fel-
 “ low-citizens, than fight against your country.
 “ But if you are inclined to peace, you shall stand
 “ among the foremost ranks and be the interpreter
 “ at this happy conference. Ask conditions that are
 “ reasonable and obtain them. Though it would
 “ even be better for us to grant you unreasonable
 “ ones, than impiously to destroy one another.
 Then T. Quinctius with tears in his eyes turning to
 his men, said, “ Fellow-soldiers, if I can be of any
 “ service to you, I am fitter to procure you a peace
 “ than to lead you to battle. He who addressed him-
 “ self to you, is not one of the Volsci or Samnites
 “ but

“ but a Roman ; he is your consul, your general,
 “ soldiers, of whose good conduct you have al-
 “ ready had proofs : don’t then run the risk of receiv-
 “ ing a testimony of it against you ! The senate had
 “ other generals who would have treated you more
 “ severely ; but they pitched upon him who would
 “ shew the greatest lenity to you who were formerly
 “ his soldiers, and in whom as being your general,
 “ you would put the greatest trust. Even they
 “ who are able to conquer, desire peace. What
 “ must we do then ? Shall we not lay aside our
 “ hopes and resentment, which are but deceitful
 “ counsellors, and throw ourselves into the hands of
 “ a Roman, whose fidelity we are acquainted with ?”
 As these words were followed by a shout of approba-
 tion, Quinctius, advancing before the ranks, declared
 that his soldiers would surrender to the dictator at
 discretion. He begged him to undertake the cause
 of these unhappy citizens, and to defend it with
 the same zeal with which he used to maintain the in-
 terests of the republic. “ As to himself, he said,
 “ he had no precautions to take, and would confide
 “ in his innocence alone. That the soldiers ought
 “ to have the same security of the senate, which
 “ they had granted to the people once, and a second
 “ time to the legions, that their secession might not
 “ hereafter be charged upon them to their preju-
 “ dice.” The dictator after commending Quinctius,
 and encouraging the rest to keep up a good heart,
 posted to Rome, and by the advice of the fathers,
 proposed to the people assembled in the Peletin wood,
 “ to pass an act of grace in favor of the soldiers,
 “ who had revolted,” and earnestly besought them
 “ never to reproach them with their desertion
 “ either in jest or earnest.” A sacred military law was
 likewise enacted, “ that no soldier’s name should be
 “ blotted out of the muster roll, but by his own con-
 “ sent,” and a clause was added, “ that no man who
 “ was a military tribune one year, should be a cen-
 “ tution the next.” The revolted insisted on passing
 this law, to avenge themselves on one P. Salonus,

CHAP.

XL.



who had been for several years alternately a military tribune and first centurion, whom they now called primipilus. The soldiers were enemies to him, because he had always opposed their seditious designs, and would not join those who had deserted from Latulæ. The senate from a regard to this officer refused to pass this law, but Salonius conjured the conscript fathers to have a greater regard to the re-establishment of concord among the citizens than to his honor, and accordingly prevailed upon them to have the bill passed. They made another demand no less extravagant; for they insisted that the pay of the horse, which was then thrice as much as the foot, should be reduced, because they had opposed their revolt.

CHAP.

XLI.

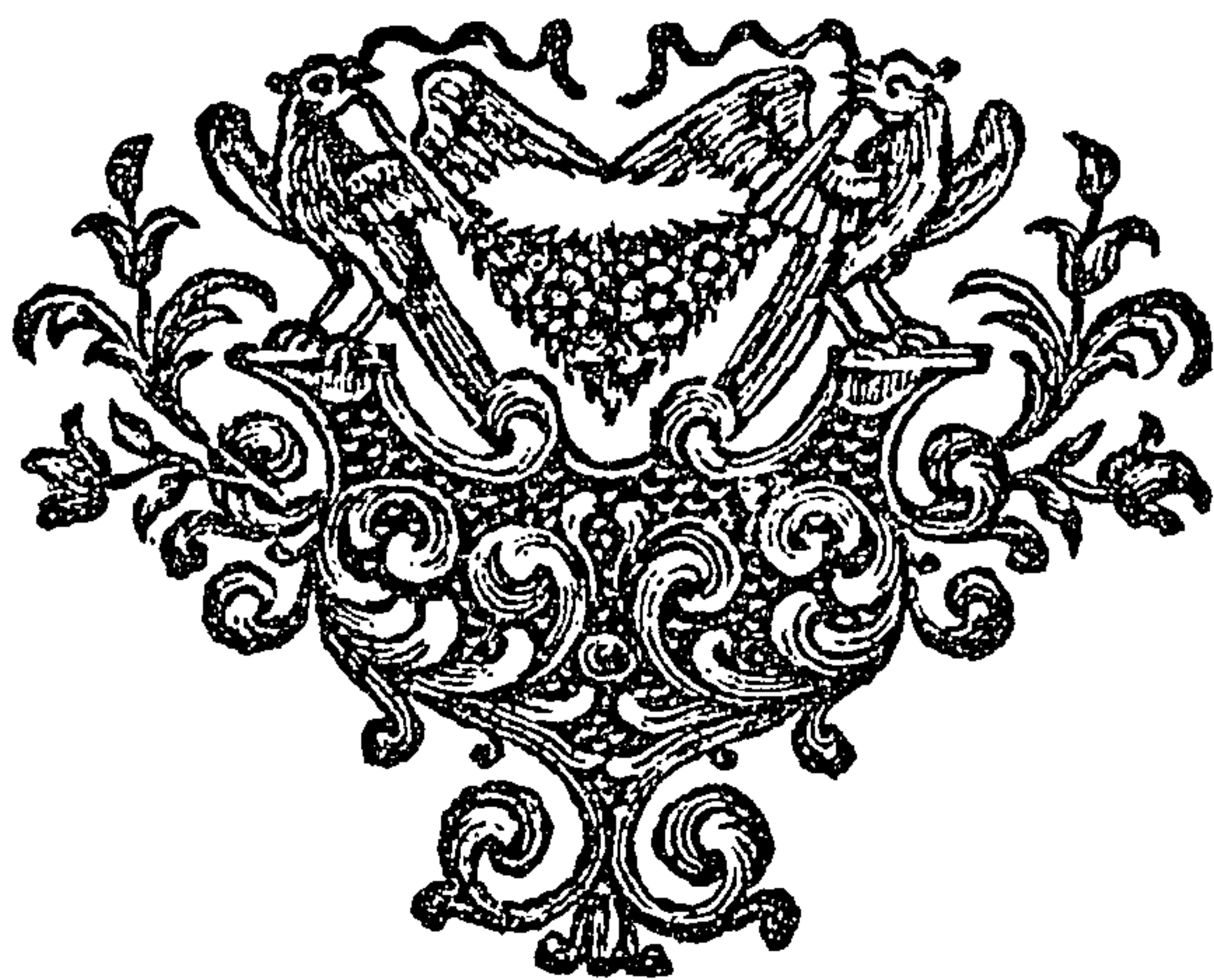


BESIDES these laws, I find in some authors that L. Genucius, tribune of the people, brought in a bill forbidding the lending of money upon interest, and that by another ordinance of the people it was enacted, that no man should be capable of holding the same office again within ten years, or possess two different offices in the same year; and likewise that both the consuls might be chosen from among the plebeians. If these concessions were made to the people, it is plain the strength of the revolters must have been considerable. In other annals I find it recorded, that Valerius was not created dictator, and that this sedition was entirely quelled by the consuls. It is further added, that the rebels were excited to take arms at Rome, and not before their arrival there; that they did not break in the night-time into the rural habitation of T. Quinctius, but into the house of C. Manlius, whom they seized in order to make him their general; afterwards they marched four miles from the city, where they posted themselves in a fortified place, the proposals for an accommodation were not first made by the commanders, but when both armies had marched out to battle, they all of a sudden saluted one another



and the soldiers, mixing together, began with tears in their eyes to shake hands and to embrace one another; and the consuls, upon seeing their men had no inclination to fight, applied to the senate to make up matters between them. Thus according to ancient historians, nothing is certain but that there was a sedition which was soon appeased. Nevertheless the news of this insurrection, and the dangerous war undertaken against the Samnites, made several nations renounce their alliance with Rome. For besides that for a long time past they could have no dependance upon their treaty with the Latines, the Privernates made a sudden incursion upon Norba and Setia, two Roman colonies in their neighborhood, and laid waste their lands.

End of the SEVENTH BOOK.



T H E
ROMAN HISTORY,
BY
TITUS LIVIUS of *Padua*.

B O O K VIII.

The Latines and Campanians revolt, and sending ambassadors to the Roman senate, propose to keep peace with them upon condition they should choose one of their consuls from among the Latines. Their Prætor Annius, after delivering this commission, tumbles from the capitol and is killed by the fall. T. Manlius the consul beheads his own son for fighting with the Latines contrary to his orders, though he had come off victorious. The Romans being hard put to it in battle, P. Decius at that time Manlius's colleague in the consulship devotes himself to destruction for the army, spurs his horse into the midst of the enemy, and by his death restores victory to the Romans. Latines submit. When T. Manlius returns to the city, none of the youth go to meet him. Minucia, a vestal virgin, condemned for incontinence. The Ausones being subdued, a colony is led to the city of Cales, which was taken from them. The colony Fregellæ likewise planted. Many ladies convicted of practising poison, a great number of them being obliged to drink off their own preparations, die immediately. A law first made against that crime. The Privernates, after their revolt, subdued and admitted to the right of citizens. The inhabitants of Falæopolis defeated in battle, and straitened by a blockade, surrender themselves. Q. Publilius the first who has his government prolonged, and obtains the honor of a triumph after the expiration of his consulship. The commons freed from serving for debt, on account of the abominable passion of L. Papirius a creditor, who attempted to abuse C. Publilius his debtor. Upon the return of L. Papirius the dictator from the army to the city, in order to renew the auspices, Q. Fabius, his general of the horse, encouraged by an opportunity of attacking the enemy to advantage, falls upon them, contrary to the dictator's orders and defeats them. Papirius determines to punish Fabius for his disobedience, but he flies to Rome, and though his cause pleaded but little in his behalf, is pardoned at the earnest intercession of the people. This book likewise contains the victories gained by the Romans over the Samnites.

C. Plautius

C. PLAUTIUS the second time, and L. CHAP. I.
 Æmilius Mamercinus, were now consuls; when the Setini and Norbani came to Rome with the news of the revolt of the Privernates, and complaints of the losses they themselves had sustained. Accounts were likewise brought, that an army of the Volsci, conducted by the Antiates, had encamped at Satricum. Both these wars fell to Plautius by lot. He marched first to Privernum, and came immediately to an engagement with the enemy whom he easily defeated. He took their city and restored it to the inhabitants, after having placed a strong garison in it. Two thirds of their lands were taken from them. From thence he led his victorious army to Satricum, against the Antiates. There soon ensued a battle which was very bloody, and fought with great resolution on both sides; and a storm having parted them, before victory had declared for either side, the Romans, not in the least tired out with this doubtful action, prepared to renew the battle the next day. But the Volsci, after reckoning up the men they had lost, had not the same courage to risk themselves a second time. They fled in the night to Antium with as much precipitation, as if they had been defeated, leaving their wounded men and part of their baggage behind. The consul found a vast quantity of arms among their dead and in their camp, which he dedicated to mother Lua^a. Then he proceeded and laid waste their country quite to the sea-shore. The other consul Æmilius entered the Sabellian^b territories, but the Samnites neither marched their legions nor pitched any camp to oppose him; but while he ravaged their

C. Plantius
 and Mamercinus consuls.
 Y. of R. 414.
 B. J. C. 338.

^a It was the custom for the pagans to purify themselves after a battle, from the pollutions they had contracted by shedding human blood. They imagined a goddess named *Lua*, presided over these expiations. She had this name from *luendo purifying*,

and they sacrificed to her by burning the arms and spoils of the enemy.

^b The Samnites had the name of Sabines, though they had separated from that people, and hence their country was often called *ager Sabellus*.

CHAP.

I.

I.

lands with fire and sword, deputies came from them begging a peace. He referred them to the senate, who granted them an audience, when having laid aside their proud spirits, they requested peace of the Romans, and permission to make war upon the Sidicini. Their envoy represented, “that they had
 “the better plea to ask this, as they had become
 “the allies of the Roman people, when their affairs
 “were in a flourishing condition, and not like the
 “Campanians, in their adversity; and as they were
 “to take up arms against the Sidicini, their own
 “constant enemies, and never the friends of Rome;
 “against a people, who had not, like the Samnites,
 “courted the alliance of the republic in peace, nor
 “like the Campanians sought it’s assistance in war,
 “and therefore were neither under the dominion
 “nor protection of the Roman people.”

CHAP.

II.

II.

AFTER Ti. Æmilius, the prætor, had consulted the senate concerning these demands of the Samnites, and the fathers had agreed to renew the treaty with them, the prætor made the following answer to their ambassadors, “It was not the fault
 “of the Romans that the alliance between the
 “two nations had not subsisted inviolably, and as
 “the Samnites were become weary of a war, which
 “they had brought upon themselves by their own
 “fault, they had no objection to the renewing of
 “the former treaty. As to the Sidicini, they did
 “not hinder the Samnites from making either peace
 “or war with them, as they thought fit.” As soon as the treaty was concluded, and the ambassador returned home, the Roman army immediately withdrew out of their country, having received a year pay and provisions for three months, according to agreement with the consul, in consideration of the truce he had granted them till their deputies should return. The Samnites turned these forces against the Sidicini, which they had made use of against the Romans, and were in great hopes of making themselves

selves quickly masters of their city. Then the Sidicini first began to propose the surrendering themselves to the Romans, but the fathers refused their proposal as coming too late, and forced from them by the utmost necessity ; so that they had recourse to the Latines, who had already taken up arms of their own accord. The Campanians likewise being more sensible of the injuries done them by the Samnites, than the services they had received from the Romans, followed their example. A vast army, composed of so many allies under the command of a Latine general, having entred the territory of the Samnites, did them more damage by devastations than in battle. But though the Latines had the better in some skirmishes, they retired of their own accord out of the country, that they might not be obliged to engage with them too often. This gave the Samnites time to send ambassadors to Rome, who being admitted into the senate, complained that they suffered the same hardships since they were the allies of Rome, that they had done before when they were her enemies ; and in the most submissive manner begged “ that
 “ the Romans would reckon it sufficient to have
 “ wrested from them the victory, which they had
 “ gained over the Campanians and Sidicini their ene-
 “ mies, and not likewise suffer them to be op-
 “ pressed by these cowardly nations. That as the
 “ Latines and Campanians were under the dominion
 “ of the Roman people, they might command
 “ them to withdraw their forces out of Samnium,
 “ and if they refused to obey, compel them by force
 “ of arms.” The Romans being unwilling to own that the Latines were no longer dependent upon them, and being afraid to alienate their minds entirely, if they should oppose their designs, returned this ambiguous answer. “ The condition of the
 “ Campanians and Latines is different. The for-
 “ mer are not our allies by treaty, but our sub-
 “ jects by surrendry ; so that, whether they will or
 “ no, we will oblige them to be quiet. By our treaty
 “ with

“ with the Latines, they are not restrained from
 “ making war with whomsoever they please.”

CHAP.
 III.

AS this answer left the Samnites in an uncertainty with regard to the measures which the Romans intended to pursue, so it alienated the Campanians by alarming their fears ; and encreased the pride of the Latines, who concluded from it that the Romans were ready to make them any concessions. And accordingly having summoned frequent diets under pretext of raising levies against the Samnites, in all their consultations their chiefs privately concerted measures for attacking the Romans. The Campanians likewise came into this design of making war on their deliverers. But how careful soever they kept all their proceedings concealed, and were resolved to exterminate the Sabines who lay behind them before they attacked the Romans ; yet a discovery of the plot was conveyed to Rome, by some persons connected with the republic by the ties of friendship and private obligations. Upon this, when the consuls were ordered to resign, that the election of successors for the ensuing year might come on the sooner, in order to make the necessary preparations against the terrible war which threatened them, the people were seized with a religious scruple, that the comitia could not be held by those magistrates who were deposed before their time. For this reason the republic was reduced to an interregnum. The two interreges were M. Valerius and M. Fabius. The latter created T. Manlius Torquatus for the third time, and P. Decius Mus Consuls. Historians are agreed that Alexander^a king of Epirus^b came this year with a fleet to Italy. Had this prince succeeded in his first attempts, there is no doubt but he would have carried his arms against

T. Manl.
 Torquatus
 and P. Decius Mus
 consuls,
 Y. of R. 415.
 B. J. C. 337.

^a He was the xviii. king of Epirus, from Pyrrhus son of Achilles, and brother-in-law to Philip king of Macedon.

^b Old Epirus comprehended all the countries lying between the *Ionian* sea to the west, *Thessaly* to the

east, *Macedonia* to the north, and *Acbaia* to the south and east. Among the people that formerly inhabited it were the *Molossi*, *Charones*, *Thesproti*, *Amphilochi*, *Acarnanes*, *Abamantes* and *Dolopes*. It was famous for good horses.

he Romans. At the same time lived Alexander the Great, his sister's son, a young hero whose arms were invincible in another part of the world, but fortune cut him off by sickness. However the Romans, though they no longer doubted of the revolt of their allies and of the whole Latine nation, as if they had been only concerned for the Samnites and under no uneasiness about themselves, cited ten of their leaders to Rome, to receive their orders. The Latines had at that time two prætors, L. Annius of Setia ^a, and L. Numicius of Circeum ^b, both Roman colonies: by whose means ^c not only the cities of Segnia and Velitræ ^d and many Roman colonies, but also the Volsci had been excited to take arms against the republic. The two Latine prætors were cited by name. Every body knew the business about which they were sent for. For that reason, before they set out, they assembled a general diet, informed them that they had been summoned by the Roman senate, pointed out the heads upon which they thought their examination would turn. and asked what answer they should return to the interrogatories.

CHAP.

III.

AS the members of the diet were divided in their opinions, Annius spoke thus. “ Though I asked you what answer you would have us give to the senate, yet I think it concerns us much more to determine, what we are to do than what we are to say. After we have determined how to act, it will be easy for us to find words adapted to our purposes. For if we can at this time, under the appearance of a fair treaty, bear the yoke, what remains but that by betraying the Sidicini, we truckle to the commands not only of the Romans, but of the Samnites too? Why don't we answer the Romans, that we will lay down our arms as soon as they signify their pleasure to us? But if we are concerned for the loss of our

CHAP.

IV.

^a See book vi. chap. 30. p. 195. of this vol.

^c Ibid. p. 102. note c.

^d Ibid. p. 163. and book vi. chap.

^b See vol. I. p. 102, c. 177. note 1. 21. p. 180.

“ liberty,

CHAP.

IV.

“ liberty, if the alliance we entered into with the
 “ Romans is truly social, and all society implies an
 “ equality of privileges in the persons who com-
 “ pose it ; if we may now glory in being the
 “ kinsmen of the Romans, which we were a
 “ shamed to be before ; if their army is composed
 “ of half our troops, by the junction of which their
 “ strength is doubled, which their consuls will not
 “ separate from their own forces neither at the be-
 “ ginning nor conclusion of wars undertaken by
 “ themselves ; why have we not all other privileges
 “ upon an equal footing with them ? Why is not
 “ one of the consuls elected out of the Latines ?
 “ Why do not we, who furnish half the troops, also
 “ share the government with them ? Nor is this de-
 “ mand of ours too exorbitant considered in itself
 “ since we still acknowledge Rome to be the capita-
 “ of Latium ; though we have made it seem to be
 “ so by submitting so long to their tyranny. But
 “ if you ever wished for a favorable opportunity
 “ of sharing the power equally with them, and
 “ recovering your liberty ; this is the time, which
 “ the favor of the Gods and your own bravery now
 “ offer you. You have already tried their patience
 “ by refusing them your usual contingent of troops.
 “ And who doubts but they were highly provoked
 “ at our non-performance of a custom which is
 “ two hundred years standing ? Yet they bore the
 “ refusal. We made war in our own name with
 “ the Peligini ^a, yet they who would not formerly
 “ allow us to defend our frontiers by our own arms
 “ did not interpose their authority to hinder us. They
 “ have heard that we have taken the Sidicini under
 “ our protection, that the Campanians have revolted
 “ from them to us, and that we are levying armies
 “ fall upon the Samnites, their allies, without stir-
 “ ring from the city. Whence proceeds all this
 “ moderation, but from a consciousness of their own

^a See chap. xli. of this book.

“weakness and our strength : I am credibly informed that when the Samnites complained of us, the Roman senate returned them such an answer, as made it evident, they did not pretend to require the Latines to submit to the republic of Rome. Claim then by open demand the right they tacitly grant you. If any of you are afraid to carry this message, I myself undertake to declare to them, not only in the presence of the senate and people of Rome, but even of Jupiter Capitolinus himself, that if they will have us continue their friends and allies, they must receive one of their consuls and half of their senate from us.” As he enforced his advice, and made this promise with an air of boldness, they all gave shout, and with unanimous consent, commissioned him to act and to speak what he should think proper for the interest of the Latine state, and suitable to the trust reposed in him.

WHEN he with the other Latine deputies came to Rome, the senate gave him audience in the capitol. There, after Manlius in name of the fathers had dealt with them not to make war upon the Samnites their allies, Annius with the haughtiness of a conqueror who had taken the capitol by arms, and not with the moderation of an ambassador protected by the law of nations, addressed them thus ; “ T. Manlius, said he, and you conscript fathers, it was time for you to forbear giving us orders in this imperious manner, when you saw Latium, by the goodness of the Gods, flourishing remarkably both in men and arms, the Samnites conquered by us, the Sidicini and Campanians, our allies the Volsci also on our side and many of your colonies preferring the Latine government to that of Rome. But as you have no mind to put an end to your tyranny ; though we be able to set Latium at liberty by the sword, yet we will submit on account of our relation to you, to offer peace upon equal terms, since it hath pleased the Gods to make our strength

CHAP.

V.



“ equal to yours. You must choose one of your
 “ consuls of the Romans, and the other of the
 “ Latines, and your senate must consist of an e-
 “ qual number of each nation ; we must be one
 “ people and one republic. And since the seat of
 “ empire must be the same, we must all have the
 “ same name, and therefore one party must ne-
 “ cessarily yield to the other, let Rome have the
 “ preference, let us all be called Romans, and
 “ may this name be lucky and auspicious to the
 “ united nations.” It happened that the Romans
 had for their consul T. Manlius, a man of as
 much spirit as the Latine. He was so far from brid-
 ling his passion, that he declared openly, if the sena-
 tors were mad enough to receive laws from a citizen
 of Setia, he would gird on his sword, come to the
 senate and kill with his own hand every Latine he
 found in it. And then turning to the statue of Jupiter,
 said “ Hear, Jupiter, this daring impiety ! hear,
 “ you Divinities, who are the guardians of justice and
 “ equity ! Shalt thou, Jupiter, be so far brought
 “ into captivity and slavery, as to behold a foreign
 “ consul and a foreign senate in thy consecrated tem-
 “ ple ? Latines, is this the treaty which Tullus,
 “ the Roman King, made with the Albans your an-
 “ cestors, and which L. Tarquin afterwards renewed
 “ with you ? Don’t you still remember your defeat
 “ near the lake Regillus ? Are you so very forget-
 “ ful of your former misfortunes, and our favors ?”

CHAP.

VI.



AFTER Manlius had said this, while the fa-
 thers testified their resentment at the extravagant de-
 mands of the Latine deputy, and the consuls ofte
 invoked the Gods to be witnesses of the infraction of
 the most solemn treaties, the report is that Annus
 was heard at the same time despising the Deity of the
 Roman Jupiter. But whatever be in this, it is ce-
 tain that as he withdrew out of the porch of the
 temple, in a transport of passion, he fell down the
 stairs in his hurry, bruised his head terribly, and stru-

with so great force against a stone at the bottom of CHAP.
them, that he was stunned. Some historians say that VI.
he died of his fall, but as they are not all agreed about
I cannot pretend to determine any thing certain
concerning it; nor can I affirm that his death was fol-
lowed by a great clap of thunder and a violent storm
as a proof of the violation of the most solemn treaties.
These circumstances may be true, or they may be
only invented on purpose to give mankind the strong-
est impression of the indignation of the Gods against
such unjust proceedings. Torquatus being sent by
the senate to dismiss the Latine ambassadors, upon
seeing Annius lying upon the ground, burst out so
loudly into the following exclamation, that he was
heard both by the senate and people. “All is well.
You Gods begin a pious war. There are certainly
celestial Deities, and thou, great Jupiter, hast an
existence! We did not without reason dedicate
this temple to thee the father of Gods and men.
You Romans, and you conscript fathers, why do
you one moment delay taking up arms, when you
have the Gods to lead you? I will lay the La-
tine legions as low, as you see their ambassador lying
on the ground.” The people heard these words
of the consul with approbation, and their minds were
inspired with so much ardor, that the deputies owed
their protection from violence and insults more to
the care of the magistrates, who conducted them
out of the city by order of the consul, than to
the law of nations. The senate likewise consented
to the war. The consuls levied two armies, march-
ed through the territories of the Marfi^a and Peligni,
and having joined the Samnite army, encamped at
Apua^b, where the Latines and their allies had assem-
bled their forces. At this place, it is said there appear-
ed to both the consuls in their sleep, a man of more

^a See various conjectures concern-
ing the original of this people; Plin.
l. b. 3. c. 12. Solinus c. 8. Virgil.
Æneid. b. 7. But Servius and Festus’s
opinion of their being part of the

Sabines, seems most probable. Their
capital was Marubium. Their coun-
try is now a part of the *further*
Abruzzo, near the lake *Celano*.

^b See book iv. chap. 37. p.

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ordinary size and a more majestic look, who said
 “ That the general of one army and the other army
 “ itself were devoted to the *Dii manes* ^a and to mother Terra. The people and party of that general
 “ who should devote the legions of his enemies and
 “ himself to those Gods, should certainly be victorious.” After the consuls had communicated their nocturnal vision to each other, they ordered expiatory sacrifices to be offered, in order to avert the anger of the Gods, and resolved, that if the same omens, which they had seen in their sleep, should be discovered in the entrails of the beasts, one of them should fulfil the decrees of the fates. Therefore when the answers of the haruspices exactly agreed with that superstitious belief, which was so strongly impressed upon their minds ; they sent for the lieutenant generals and tribunes, and in open council disclosed to them the commands of the Gods, lest the voluntary death of one of the consuls should have discouraged them in the heat of battle. Then they agreed between themselves, that he whose troops should first begin to give way, should devote himself for his country and the Roman people. It was likewise resolved in the same council, that, if ever strict military discipline had been observed in any former war, it should now be revived with all its ancient severity. What made such strict precautions so necessary was, that they were to engage with Latines, who spoke the same language with the Romans, observed the same customs, used the same arms, and, what was more than all, had the same manner of fighting. Besides, their soldiers had served with theirs in former wars, and their centurions and tribunes had been colleagues in the same garison and mixed together in the same companies. Wherefore to prevent the soldiers from being surprized or

^a By the *dii manes* were meant the Gods of hell. Souls of the dead were likewise comprehended under the general term of *manes*. The chief motives of making such con-

secrations as the present, was an opinion that the infernal Gods were revengeful, that they could not be appeased by the ordinary sacrifices.

om falling into any snare, the consuls published a proclamation forbidding every officer and soldier to fight out of his rank.

A M O N G other officers who were sent out on all sides with detachments to reconnoitre the enemy, it happened that T. Manlius the consul's son came with his troop so nigh the enemy's camp, that he was within a dart's throw of their advanced guard, which consisted wholly of Tusculan horse commanded by Geminus Metius, a man of a great family and known valor among the Latines. As all the men of gure on both sides knew one another, when he observed the Roman squadron, and saw the consul's son marching boldly at the head of it, he said, "Romans, do you intend to wage war with the Latines and their Allies with one troop of horse? How will the consuls and the two consular armies employ themselves in the mean time?" "They will appear in due time, replied Manlius, and with them will come Jupiter, who is a witness of your breach of treaties, and is more strong and powerful to punish you for it. If we gave you your belly full of fighting at the lake Regillus, we shall certainly now make you have no great inclination to draw up your armies and engage with us in battle for the future." At which words, Geminus advancing a little before his men, said, "Will you, till the day come when you are to defeat our army by your mighty prowess, in the mean time enter the lists with me, that from the issue of our combat it may be seen, how far a Latine excels a Roman knight?" Rage, the shame of declining the combat, or the invincible necessity of his fate, prompted the fiery Manlius to accept the challenge. Forgetting therefore his father's commands, and the orders of the consuls, he is hurried on precipitately to a combat, in which whether he came off victorious or was conquered, there was no great difference. After the rest of the horse had

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drawn back, as it were to see the fight, the combatants rode full speed at each other in the open space between the two parties, and pushing at one another with their spears, Manlius's lance razed Metius's helmet, whose spear went over the neck of his adversary's horse. Then they wheeled their horses, and Manlius, having raised himself first to repeat his blow, struck Metius's horse between the ears with his lance. As the smart of the wound made the horse rise with his fore feet and shake his head, his rider was thrown off. While he endeavored to raise himself, and was leaning upon his buckler and lance, Manlius gave him a thrust in the throat with his spear, so that the iron point came out through his ribs, and pinned him to the ground. Having gathered up the spoils, Manlius joined his troop, returned with them in triumph to the camp, and going directly to his father's tent, ignorant of his fate and what was to happen, or whether he had deserved punishment or praise, said, "Father, that all men may know that I am truly descended of your blood, I was challenged, and here I now carry the spoils which I took from the knight whom I slew." But the consul upon hearing these words, immediately turned his back upon his son, ordered his troops to be assembled by sound of trumpet, and in a full meeting of them, replied, "since you, T. Manlius, without regard to the commands of the consuls, or authority of a father, have in direct contradiction to our proclamation fought with the enemy without orders, and have, as far as in you lay, dissolved that discipline, which to this day has been the support of the Roman state; and reduced me to the sad necessity, either of forgetting my country or myself and my children; we ought to suffer punishment for our crimes, rather than the commonwealth should suffer on our account. We shall be a melancholy example, but a salutary one to the Roman youth in after ages. The natural affection I have for

my

my children endears you to me, and that endearment is heightened by this proof you have given of your bravery, misguided by a vain phantom of glory. But since I must either by your death enforce the regard due to the consular authority, or by your impunity abolish it for ever; if you have a drop of my blood in your veins, you will not refuse to die, that by your punishment, you may reinstate that discipline which you have subverted by your disobedience. Go, lictor, tie him to a stake." The whole army was astonished at this barbarous order. Every man looked upon the axe lifted up against himself, and kept within bounds rather through fear than submission. They stood mute for some time, but when his head was cut off, and the blood streamed from it, their spirits recovered from their astonishment, and they uttered their complaints freely, sparing neither lamentations for the son, nor imprecations on the father. They celebrated this youth's funeral with the greatest military honors, and after covering his body with the spoils he had taken from the enemies, burnt both on a pile raised without the camp. Thus Manlius's orders might not only strike terror into the present age, but might also be a melancholy example to posterity.

NEVERTHELESS this cruel punishment CHAP.
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made the soldiers more obedient to their general; for besides their watching and warding, and posting their guards in all places with more precaution, this severity was of service to them when matters were brought to the last push in the battle which followed. The fight had all the appearance of an engagement between citizens, so much did the Latines resemble the Romans in every thing except their courage. The Romans had used the clypeus^a, but since their soldiers had received pay, they had used the scutum^b instead of it; and though they had

^a See Vol. I. p. 79. note c.

^b Ibid. note i.

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been originally one close body like the Macedonian phalanx, their army was afterwards marshalled into manipuli. At last they were formed into several companies ^a, each consisting of sixty two soldiers, a centurion and a standard bearer. In the first line were the hastati ^b, which consisted of ten manipuli placed at a small distance from one another; in each of which were twenty men light armed, the rest of the manipulus was armed with the scutum. Those who carried the pike and javelin were called light armed. This first line of the army consisted of the flower of the youth who were training up for the service. The second consisted of as many manipuli of those of riper age called principes ^c, who were all armed with the scutum and shining arms. These two lines, consisting of twenty manipuli, they called antepilani ^d, because other ten manipuli were posted in close order and behind the standards. Each of these manipuli were divided into three parts, the first of each of which was called pilum ^e. Every manipulus had three standards, and one hundred and eighty six men belonging to it. The first ensign led on the triarii ^f, who were

^a Ordo and manipulus are frequently put to signify the same thing, though the first here plainly differs from the last, which is the same with what our author elsewhere calls *centuria*, and Polybius *pars*. See Lipsius de mil. Rom.

^b So called from *hasta*, the javelin they bore, whereof each man had seven.

^c They were so called, because originally they were placed in the front, and began the attack. And in those days they were the richest and noblest of the Roman youth. They fought with swords.

^d The two first lines were called *antepilani*, from their being posted before the triarii, and bearing the javelin called pilum.

^e Lipsius corrects the common reading here into *earum unamquemque PRIMAM, pilum vocabant*, which correction we have followed. The pilus from whence they took this denomination was a missile weapon, which in a charge they darted at the enemy. It was commonly four-square,

but sometimes round, made of a piece of wood three cubits long, and a slip of iron of the same length, hooked and jagged at the end. Abundance of pains was taken in joining the two parts together, and it was done so artificially, that it would sooner break in the iron itself, than in the joint. Every man had two, to which number Virgil alludes *Æn.* i. ver. 317. and Statius, *Thebaid.* 2. C. Marius contrived them after a new fashion in the Cimbrian war. Before the joint of the wood and iron was fastened with two iron pins, one of which he let remain, and pulling out the other and supplying its place with a wooden peg. This he so contrived, that when it was stuck in the enemy's shield it did not stand upright, but the peg breaking, the iron bended, and so the javelin sticking fast by its crooked point, weighed down the shield.

^f So named because they made the third line. They were called *Pilani milites*, from bearing the javelin called *Pilum*.

veterans

veterans of distinguished bravery, the second led on the *rorarii* ^g who were inferior to the former in strength, age and military renown; the third led on the *accensi* ^h, a body of men in whom they reposed very little confidence, and for that reason were placed in the last line. After the army was ranged in this order, the *hastati* first, of all the heavy armed, began the battle. If they were not able to rout the enemy, they retreated in close order into the intervals of the ranks of the *principes*, who covered them. And then they engaged, and the *hastati*, who had fallen back to their rear, followed them. The *triarii* kept their posts behind the ensigns with their left legs stretched out, their broad shields upon their shoulders, holding their pikes with the ends fixed in the ground and the heads upwards, and appeared as dreadful as an army guarded by a pallisade. If the *principes* were unsuccessful in their attack, they by degrees fell back from the first line to the *triarii*. Hence came the proverbial expression, “It is come to the *triarii*,” when matters are brought to the last push. Upon their rising, they received the *principes* and *hastati* into the void spaces between their *manipuli* ⁱ, and closing their ranks, in a manner shut up all the intervals and advanced against the enemy in one compact body, without leaving any reserve behind. This fight struck the enemy with the greatest terror, who, while

^g In allusion to *Ros dew*; for as the due uses to precede rain, so they charged first of their corps, and before the heavy armed soldiers.

^h The *accensi* here mentioned were a body of men kept for recruiting the legions, when diminished by natural death or slaughter. They fought in the intervals of the lines with stings and other missive weapons.

ⁱ Between the first and second lines was a space of fifty foot, and the *triarii* were drawn up, one hundred foot behind the *principes*. There were likewise spaces left between the companies of each line; so that when the *hastati* were repulsed they retired softly, and fell into the intervals of the ranks of the *principes*.

And if both together were obliged to give way, they all fell back into the intervals of the *triarii*. And being thus all formed as it were into a firm mass, made a more vigorous charge than before, which if the enemy repulsed, the Romans lost the day, having no farther reserve. But in marshalling their three lines, they took care to guard against the enemy's passing through the intervals to their rear. For the *manipuli* of the second line were drawn up facing the openings of the first, and the *manipuli* of the third facing those of the second. This disposition greatly facilitated the retreat of the first line when obliged to fall back.

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they were in pursuit of the Romans in a manner conquered, beheld a new army more numerous than the former, rising as it were suddenly out of the earth. It was customary to raise four legions, which consisted each of five thousand foot and three hundred horse. They used likewise to have an equal number of legions among the Latines, who were at that time at war with the Romans, and had drawn up their men in the same order. And they knew that the Latine ensigns, their hastati, their principes and triarii and even their centurions must each engage with theirs, if their ranks were not broke. There were in the opposite armies two first centurions of the triarii, a Roman and a Latine. The Roman had not so strong a body as his antagonist, but he was a man both of skill and courage. The Latine centurion was very strong and an excellent soldier. They knew one another perfectly well, because they had always bore an equal command. The Roman, not trusting sufficiently to his own strength, obtained permission from the consuls to choose any person he pleased for a sub-centurion to defend him from a particular person, whom he knew it would be his fate to engage with. The young man pitched upon encountered the Latine centurion in the action, and obtained the victory over him. This battle was fought not far from the foot of mount Vesuvius, in the road to Veferis ^k.

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THE Roman consuls offered up sacrifice before they led out their army to battle. The haruspex is said to have shewn Decius the head of that part of the liver which foretold what would befall the Romans^a, cut off; otherwise he told him the sacrifice was acceptable to the Gods, and that Manlius's sacrifice

^k The author of the lives of illustrious men takes this town for a river. Cluverius places it not far from the present *Somma*.

^a The haruspices were of opinion, that the surest presages were to be taken from the livers of the victims.

Those livers they usually divided into two parts, one of which they called *hostilis*, which was to foretel what would befall the enemy, the other *familiaris*, what would happen to the Romans.

prefaged fuccess. “ All is well, says Decius, if my
“ colleague has appeased the Gods.” After they had
drawn up their men in the order above mentioned,
they advanced to charge the enemy. Manlius com-
manded the right wing, and Decius the left. At
first the ardor of both armies was equal, and their
strength much alike ; but afterwards the Roman
hastati on the left, not being able to stand the charge
of the Latines, retired to the principes. In this
consternation, Decius called on Valerius with a loud
voice and said, “ Valerius, we want the assistance of
“ the Gods ; come, do you, who are the Pontifex
“ Maximus of the Roman people, repeat these
“ words before me, by which I may devote myself
“ for the legions.” Valerius ordered him to put on
his toga prætexta^a, and having covered his head
with a veil, to hold one hand extended under his
robe as high as his chin, and standing upon a lance
which was put under his feet cross-wise, to repeat
these words “ Janus, Jupiter, father Mars, Bel-
“ lona, and ye Dii Lares ! all ye nine Gods^b,
“ who were brought to Rome by the Sabines !
“ all ye heroes who dwell in heaven ! all ye Gods
“ who rule over us and our enemies, and all ye
“ infernal deities ! I pray, invoke, and humbly en-
“ treat you to prosper the arms of the Romans,
“ grant them the victory, and strike their ene-
“ mies with fear, terror and death. According
“ to promise, I devote myself to the Dii manes
“ and the Goddesses Tellus, in behalf of the Roman
“ republic, her army, legions and auxiliaries, and
“ with myself I devote the legions and auxiliaries
“ of the enemy.” When he had finished, he or-

^a See Vol. i. pag. 18. note d.

These divinites the Romans called *dii novenses*, the last of which words is differently interpreted. Some explain it of the worship of the new created Gods, or of those, whose worship the Romans had lately adopted from foreign countries. Others understand it of the nine muses.

Varro thinks it means the nine divinites which Tatius brought to Rome from his country, viz. *Lara, Vesta, Minerva, Feronia, Concord, Fidelity, Fortune, Chance and Health*. And several read *Novensides*, understanding thereby the Gods, who presided over novelties.

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dered the lictor to go quickly to his colleague T. Manlius, and tell him that he had devoted himself for the army. Then tucking up his robe in the gabian knot^a he put on his arms, mounted his horse and rode full speed into the midst of the enemy. He was seen by both armies, appeared more majestic in his air than men commonly are, and was believed to be sent from heaven to appease all the anger of the Gods, to drive the calamities of the war from the Romans, and turn them upon their enemies. Thus fear and terror being carried as it were along with him, he at first put the Latines into confusion, and afterwards penetrated into the midst of their army. This was most evident, that whatever way his horse carried him, the men were astonished as if they had been planet struck. But after he fell to the ground, overwhelmed by the darts of the enemy, the Latine cohorts, being seized with the utmost consternation, were destroyed and fled on all sides. At the same time the Romans, having their minds now freed from superstitious fears, renewed the battle, and fell upon the enemy with new fury, as if the signal to battle had been then first given. For the rorarii advanced into the intervals of the two first lines and strengthened the hastati and principes; and the triarii kneeling on their right-knee, waited the general's orders to rise.

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BUT as the battle still continued; and the Latines had the advantage in many places through the superiority of their numbers; Manlius, upon hearing what had happened to his colleague, and, as justice and piety required, paid the tribute both of tears and praises which so glorious a death deserved, was for a while in suspense, whether it was time for the triarii to rise; but afterwards thinking it would be better to reserve them to the last extremity, he commanded the accensi to advance from the rear before the two first lines. As soon as they appeared,

^a See book v. chap. xlv. p. 127. note b.

the Latines immediately made their triarii advance, CHAP.
 thinking the enemy had done the same. After they
 had wearied themselves by fighting smartly for some
 time, and had either broken or blunted their javelins,
 they repulsed the Romans by main force, and took it for
 granted that they were entirely routed, and that they
 were come to the last line; when the consul said to
 the triarii, “Rise fellow-soldiers with fresh strength,
 “and engage with men already tired with fighting:
 “remember your country, your parents, your wives
 “and your children: remember a consul who has
 “laid down his life to gain you the victory.” When the
 triarii, whose strength was entire and arms shining,
 rose like a new army which had started up unexpect-
 edly, they received the two first lines into the inter-
 vals of their ranks, and setting up a shout, put the
 first line of the Latines into disorder; pricked the
 faces of their hastati^a, and having slain the flower of
 their army, made their way through the manipuli
 of the other lines, as if they had been unarmed, al-
 most without receiving a wound. In short, they
 broke through their battalions with so much slaugh-
 ter, that scarce a fourth part of the enemy was left
 alive. The Samnites likewise, who were at a di-
 stance drawn up in battalia at the foot of mount Ve-
 suvius, kept the Latines in fear. But of all the Ro-
 mans and allies, the chief honor of this glorious
 victory belonged to the consuls; one of whom trans-
 ferred all the dangers and calamities threatened by
 the Gods of heaven and earth upon himself, and the
 other shewed so much bravery and good conduct
 in battle, that all the Roman and Latine historians,
 who have given any account of this action, agree,
 that whatever side T. Manlius had commanded,
 would certainly have got the victory. The Latines
 after their flight retired to Minturnæ^b. After the
 battle,

^a Dujatius prefers this reading *Hastati*, in the edition of Becharius, to the comon *hastis*.

^b This city afterwards become very

famous, as will appear hereafter, for the death of Marius who hid himself in it's marshes. Some geographers place it, very improperly, three miles

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CHAP. XI. THOUGH the remembrance of every custom sacred and profane be now wore out, be-

on the east side of the Liris, where *Trajette* now stands. Cluver says, that there were remaining in his days some stately ruins of the old *Min-turnæ*, a little above the mouth of the Liris; at a place commonly called *Barca di Garigliano*; and among the rest an aqueduct, amphitheatre and the ruins of several ancient monuments.

cause

cause every thing foreign and new is preferred to the ancient usages of our own country; I thought it would not be improper to insert these devotements in the express form of words which were pronounced on these occasions and which have been conveyed down to us. I find it asserted by some historians, that the Samnites, having waited for the decision of the battle, came to the assistance of the Romans after it was over. The inhabitants of Lavinium ^a likewise, after wasting much time in deliberation, began to send succors to the Latines after their defeat. And that their foremost standards and a part of their army had but just marched out of the gates, when they received the news of the defeat of their allies, upon which they turned about and re-entered the town; whereupon it is reported that Millonius their prætor told them, “ that the Romans would make them pay dear for the short march they had made.” The Latines who survived the battle, after being dispersed through many roads, assembled themselves in one body, and took shelter in the city Vescia ^b. And Numicius their general boldly asserted in their assemblies, “ that both armies had suffered equally, and that it was a drawn battle; the Romans had only the name of victory, but in all other respects had met with such rough treatment, that they ought to look on themselves as conquered. Both the tents of their consuls were defiled with dead bodies, the one by the murder of his own son, and the other by the slaughter of the devoted consul; all their army was in a manner slain, their first and second lines cut off, a terrible slaughter made both before and behind the Roman standards, and that the triarii had at last reinstated the battle. Tho’ the Latine forces were likewise sadly reduced, yet they

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^a See Vol. I. p. 7. note 1.

^b It stood in the country of the Aurunci near the river *Liris* or *Gargiliano*, on this side mount *Massicius*, now *monte Dragone*. It gave it's name

to a district reaching from *Minturnæ* to *Mola*. This district must not be confounded with the country of the *Vestini*, a people of *Samnium*.

“ were

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“ were nigher to the Volsci and Latium, where they
 “ might recruit their forces, than the Romans were
 “ to Rome. That if they thought it advisable, he
 “ would quickly raise the youth of the several na-
 “ tions of the Latines and Volsci, return to Capua
 “ with an army ready for action, and by his unex-
 “ pected coming surprize the Romans, who would
 “ be expecting nothing less than a battle.” Upon
 this they dispatched letters with false accounts all over
 Latium and the dominions of the Volsci, and as
 those who had not been present at the battle, were
 apt rashly to give credit to them, a disorderly army
 was raised and drawn together in a hurry from all
 quarters. Torquatus the consul met them at Tri-
 fanum ^a, a place between Sinuessæ ^b and Minturnæ;
 and before either side encamped, they only threw
 their baggage together in heaps, and came to an en-
 gagement, wherein he entirely defeated them. This
 overthrow brought them so low, that when the con-
 sul led his army to ravage their lands, all the La-
 tines surrendered to him at discretion, and the Cam-
 panians followed their example. The Romans seized
 the lands belonging to Capua and Latium. The
 land of the Latines with the addition of that of the
 Privernates and the territory of Falernus ^c, quite to
 the river Volturnus ^d, which had belonged to the
 Campanians, were distributed among the commons
 of Rome. Those who obtained lands in Latium
 had each two acres, besides the addition of three
 fourths of an acre in the country of the Privernates.
 Those, among whom the lands of Falernum were
 divided, were allowed each three acres and a quarter,

^a It was so called perhaps from *tribus fanis*, three temples, or from *fano trium deorum*, the temple of three Gods. It was under the dominion of the Aurunci, and lay beyond the Liris, a little way from Sinuessæ.

^b It lay in *terra di Lavoro*, where now stands *Rocca di Mondragone*.

^c It lay on the confines of the Aurunci, and Campanians, and was

much celebrated for its fertility and excellent wines.

^d It rises out of the Apennines runs by *Alpina* and *Venafrum*, and there receiving into it the present river of *Fiume de Benevento*, waters *Casilinum*, in the neighbourhood of *Capua*, and then loses itself in Tyrrhene sea, a little below the city *Volturnum*, or *Capua*. Its name now is *Volturno*.

because of their distance from Rome. Nevertheless all the Latines and Campanians did not suffer this punishment, for the Laurentines^a and the Campanian knights were exempted, because they had not revolted. The treaty was ordered to be renewed with the Laurentes, and it was done every year on the tenth day after the Latine holidays^b ended. The freedom of the city was granted to the Campanian knights, and to perpetuate the memory of this privilege, it was engraven on a plate of brass which was fixed up in the temple of Castor at Rome. The number of those knights were sixteen hundred, and the people of Campania were ordered to pay to each of them yearly four hundred and fifty denarii^c.

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MANLIUS having finished the war in this glorious manner, and rewarded and punished each man according to his demerits, returned to Rome. But it is agreed on all hands, that none but the old men went out to meet him; for all the youth, not only on this occasion, but ever after, had him in the greatest aver- sion, and vented imprecations against him. The Antiates made an incursion upon the lands of Ostia, Ardea and Solonium. As the consul Manlius could not manage this war by reason of his bad state of health, he nominated L. Papirius Crassus, who was then prætor, to the dictatorship, and the latter chose L. Papirius Cursor to be his general of horse. The dictator performed nothing memorable in his expedition against the Antiates, though he kept a stand- ing camp in their country for some months. To this year, which was memorable for a signal victory gained over so many and so powerful nations, as it was also distinguished by the glorious death of one of its con- suls, and by the authority of the other, which though cruel was yet famous in after ages, succeeded the con- sulate of T. Æmilius Mamercinus and Q. Publilius Philo, men who finding the like employment with

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L. Papirius Crassus dic- tator, L. L. Papirius Cursor ge- neral of horse.

T. Æmi- lius Mam- er- cinus and Q. Publilius Philo con- sul.

Y. of R. 416. B. J. C. 530.

^a See Vol. I. p. 6. note i.

^c Fourteen pounds ten shillings and

^b They were celebrated on the seven pence halfpenny, Arbuthnot.

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their predecessors, did not shew more regard to their own private interest or party-spirit, than to the good of their country. The Latines, continuing their hostilities on account of the loss of their lands, were routed by them in the plains of Feneſtanum^a and their camp taken. And while the ſeveral Latine nations that had loſt their youth by this defeat, were ſurrendering themſelves to Publilius who had commanded in this expedition, Æmilius led his army againſt Pedum^b. The people of Tybur, Præneste and Velitræ, protected the inhabitants of this city, and ſuccors had come to them from Lavinum and Antium. However the Romans had got the advantage in ſome battles; but while they were wholly employed againſt the city of Pedum and the camp of the allies which was joined to it, before any part of the work was done, the conſul all of a ſudden, hearing that a triumph was decreed his colleague, left the ſiege and came to Rome, in order to ſolicit the ſenate with earneſtneſs to decree him the ſame honor, before he had gained any victory to deſerve it. The fathers, highly diſpleaſed at his unreaſonable deſire, aſſured him that he ſhould not have any triumph, till he had either taken Pedum or forced it to ſurrender. Upon which Æmilius was ſo diſguſted at the ſenate, that his conſulate reſembled a ſeditious tribuneship. For while he continued in office, he never ceaſed to accuſe the fathers to the people, nor did his colleague interpoſe, becauſe he was a commoner himſelf. The unequal diſtribution of the lands in Latium and Falernum furniſhed him with matter of accuſation againſt the fathers. And afterwards when the ſenate, deſirous to ſhorten the authority of the

^a In ſome editions of our author, we find Feneſtanis, and in others *Seneſtanis*. Glareanus confeſſes he can make nothing of either. Dujatius, after ſeveral conjectures, overthrown by the too great difference of the names, and diſtant ſituation of the places which he mentions, thinks *Ferentinis* the true reading. But let

the reader follow his own judgment

^b It lay between Præneste and Tusculum. Cluver's opinion ſeems to be beſt founded when he ſays, ſtood where now ſtands *Gallican*. Holſtenius thinks rather *Zagarollum* and Kircher, the preſent *l'Oſter d'Oſa*.

Q. Publilius Philo dictator, Junius Brutus general of horse.

consuls, ordered a dictator to be nominated to make head against the Latines who were taking up arms; Æmilius, who had the fasces at that time, named his colleague dictator. He chose Junius Brutus for his general of horse. His administration was entirely favorable to the popular faction, and abounded with slanderous speeches against the fathers. Besides, he passed three laws in favor of the commons, against the nobility. The first was, that the decrees made by the people should bind all the Romans in general. The second, that the fathers should ratify the laws to be brought into the comitia by centuries, before the people began to vote. The third, that as both the consuls might be legally chosen from among the people, one of the censors should also be chosen out of that order. For these reasons the senate thought the dictator and consuls had done the republic more mischief at home, than all the service they had done abroad in enlarging it's domain by their conquests and warlike achievements.

L. Fur. Camillus, and C. Mænius consuls. Y. of R. 417. B. J. C. 335.

THE following year, when L. Furius Camillus and C. Mænius were consuls, the senate, in order to put the greater affront upon Æmilius, the former consul, for neglecting to discharge his commission, declared in strong terms for the taking and destroying of Pedum by men, arms and all manner of force; so that the consuls were obliged to enter upon this enterprize first, and accordingly marched against it. The situation of the Latines was now such, that they could neither endure peace nor war. They wanted forces to carry on the latter, and were so much grieved for the loss of their lands, that they rejected the former. They imagined it was observing a medium, to shut themselves up in their cities, and thereby give the Romans no provocation to make war upon them; and, upon hearing that they had invested any of their cities, to march the forces of their several states from all quarters to it's relief. Yet notwithstanding this plan,

plan, the inhabitants of Pedum were assisted but a very few of them. Only the people of Tyl and Præneſte, whoſe territory lay next to it, came to it's relief. Mænius ſurprized the people of Aricia, Lavinium and Velitræ, who were united their forces with the Volſci and Antiates, upon the banks of the Aſtura^a, and routed them. Camillus with no leſs ſucceſs engaged at Pedum with the Tiburtines, though they were very ſtrong and put him hard to it. For the beſieged made a ſudden ſally in the heat of the battle, which put the Romans in confuſion; but Camillus, having ordered part of his troops to face about, not only drove them back into the city, but after routing them and their auxiliaries, took it by ſtorm the ſame day. After the taking of this ſingle city, the conſul reſolved to lead the victorious army with more vigor and bravery to reduce Latium, nor did they ſtop, till by taking their cities by force, or obliging them to ſurrender at diſcretion, they ſubdued the whole country. Then placing garriſons in the ſeveral towns, they returned out for Rome, in order to receive the honor of triumph, which all ranks unaniſouſly intended to confer upon them. Beſides a triumph they received an additional honor. Equeſtrian ſtatues were erected for them in the forum, which was a great rarity thoſe days. Before the conſuls propoſed aſſembling the comitia for the election of magiſtrates for the following year, Camillus moved the ſenate to transfer the affairs of the people of Latium into their conſideration, and ſpoke himſelf as follows. “ Conſider
“ fathers, the goodneſs of the Gods and valor of
“ ſoldiers have now put an end to hoſtilities and
“ war we were forced to make with the Latines.
“ enemy's armies have been cut to pieces at Ped

^a The river *Aſtura*, which others call *Stura*, watered the Pomptin territory, which is at preſent part of the *Campagna di Roma*. It diſcharges itſelf into the Tuſculan ſea, and gave name to a ſmall iſland near the mouth of it, fix miles beyond the territory of *Antium*, between that and *Circæum*. *Cicero* had a country houſe there, and was killed near it.

and on the banks of Astura. All the cities of Latium, and even Antium in the territory of the Volsci, have been either taken by force of arms or surrendered at discretion, and are now secured by your garisons. As they disturb us by frequent revolts, it now remains for us to consider, how we may keep them always quiet by establishing a lasting peace. And the immortal Gods have so far enabled you to determine this matter, that it is in your power to resolve whether there shall be for the future any such place as Latium or not. As to the Latines, you may secure yourselves of peace from them for ever, either by treating them with rigor or pardoning them. Do you intend to exercise your severity upon those whom you have conquered, and who have submitted to you? You may destroy all Latium, and make that country a vast desert, which produced those men who have served in your armies as allies in so many dangerous wars. Or are you desirous, in imitation of your ancestors, to strengthen the Roman state, by granting the conquered the privilege of citizens? You have now a fair opportunity of encreasing the number of your subjects with the utmost glory. That government is certainly by far the most firmly established, where the people obey with pleasure. But whatever your determination be, it must be without losing time, many nations are now in suspense between hope and fear, and you ought to free your selves from this care about them as soon as possible, and take the advantage of the present uncertainty of their minds, either for punishing, or shewing favor to them, before they have time to look about them. It was our duty to put it into your power to pass what sentence upon them you should think fit; it is your's to determine what is most expedient for yourselves and for the republic."

THE chief men of the senate approved of the motion of the consul in general. But as the conduct

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of the Latine states had been different, they thought they would be best enabled to determine, if each of them were specified by name, in order to reward or punish them as they had deserved. Accordingly they proceeded to examine the conduct of each state, and resolved that the inhabitants of Lanuvium should be made Roman citizens, and their sacred things restored to them upon condition the grove and temple of Juno Sospita should be in common between them and the Romans. The inhabitants of Aricia, Nomentum and Pedum were made Roman citizens upon the same footing with those of Lanuvium. The Tusculans retained the right of citizenship which they had formerly enjoyed; and a few, who had been ring-leaders of their revolt, were punished without condemning the whole nation. The inhabitants of Velitræ, who were originally Roman citizens, were treated with great severity, because they had so often revolted. Their walls were demolished, their senate removed to another place, the inhabitants ordered to dwell on the other side of the Tiber; so that if any of them was apprehended on this side of that river, he was obliged to pay one thousand asses of brass^a, and he who seized him, might detain him prisoner, till payment was made. A colony of Roman citizens was sent to possess the lands of their senators, whereby Velitræ was almost as well peopled as formerly. A new colony was likewise sent to Antium; nevertheless the Antiates had permission to enrol themselves if they pleased. They were admitted to the right of citizens; but their ships of force were taken away, and they were forbid to go any more to sea. The inhabitants of Tybur and Præneste were deprived of all their lands; but this severe sentence was inflicted upon them, not so much on the account of their late revolt in which the rest of the Latines had been equally engaged, but because they had formerly, through

^a Three pound four shillings and eight pence, according to Arbuthnot.
 dissil

dislike of the Roman government, joined their forces with that wild and savage people the Gauls. They took from the other nations of Latium the power of holding diets, making intermarriages and keeping fairs for trade. The Campanians had the right of citizenship but not a right of suffrage granted them, in order to do honor to their knights who had refused to join with the Latines in their revolt; and the people of Fundi and Formiæ obtained the same favor, because they had always given the Roman armies a free and quiet passage through their territories. They agreed that the cities Cumæ and Sueffula should have the same terms and be upon the same footing with Capua. As to the ships which belonged to the Antiates, some of them were carried into the docks at Rome, and the rest burnt. With their beaks they adorned the tribune of harangues which was erected in the forum, and from them was this temple * called Rostra.

C. SULPICIUS Longus and P. Ælius Pætus being consuls, when all the states in the neighbourhood of Rome were quiet, not more out of fear of her arms, than out of affection to her for the services she had done them, a war broke out between the Sidicini and Aurunci. The Aurunci had surrendered themselves to T. Manlius the consul; and as they had made no attempts against the republic since, they had the juster plea to demand assistance from the Romans. The senate had ordered the consuls to defend the Aurunci, but before they marched their army from the city, news was brought that they had abandoned their capital through fear, and fled with their wives and children to Sueffula, now called Aurunca, which they had fortified, and their old walls and city were demolished by the Sidicini. The senate offended with the consuls, because they had betrayed their allies by their delay, ordered them

C. Sulpicius
and P. Æ-
lius consuls,
Y. of R. 4. 8.
B. J. C. 334.

* It was called *templum*, because it was consecrated by augury.

CHAP. to name a dictator. C. Claudius Regillensis was
 the person named, and he chose C. Claudius Hor-
 ator for his general of horse. But some scruples
 arose with regard to the election of this magistrate,
 and as the augurs declared that there appeared to be
 some defect in it, both he and his general of horse
 resigned their office. This year Minucia a vestal
 virgin, first suspected on account of her dress, which
 was more gaudy than became her function, was after-
 wards accused at the tribunal of the pontiffs by
 one of her slaves who informed against her. Upon
 this she was commanded not to perform any sacerdo-
 tal office, nor to enfranchise any of her slaves, and
 having the sentence of condemnation passed on her,
 was buried alive in the wicked field near the Col-
 line gate, on the right side of the common road. I sup-
 pose the field was so called because the vestals who
 had been guilty of incontinence were buried there. The
 same year Q. Publilius Philo, a plebeian, was chosen
 prætor. He was the first commoner who was ad-
 vanced to that office. Sulpicius the consul opposed
 his election, and refused to receive his name as a
 candidate ; but as the senate had not been able to
 hinder plebeians from obtaining the highest digni-
 ties, they were the less keen in opposing his election
 to the prætorship.

CHAP. THE following year, when L. Papirius Crassus and
 XVI. Cæso Duilius were consuls, was remarkable for a
 war with the Ausones^a, which was rather new than
 formidable.

Papirius
 Crassus and
 Cæso Duili-
 us consuls

Y. of R. 419.
 B. J. C. 533.

^a That nation was originally Gre-
 cian, as the colonies were which after-
 wards came over into this country.
 Pliny observes, c. 5. book iii. that the
 Ausones gave their name to that part
 of the Mediterranean sea, which reaches
 from the sea of Sicily to the country of
 the Salentini. This was then call-
 ed the Ausonian sea, according to
 Dion. Hal. himself, and not the Si-
 cilian sea, as Strabo pretends, who
 makes the latter the Ausonian sea ;
 though he is forced to confess, that

the Ausones never inhabited the coasts
 of Sicily. They first planted them-
 selves in that part of Italy, which
 comprehends Samnium, Campania
 Brutium, and Japygia. But after-
 wards being driven from thence by
 new conquerors, they were shut up
 within very narrow limits, in the
 neighborhood of Cale, whose terri-
 tory they had possessed from time
 immemorial, according to Festus. But
 this author is much mistaken in his
 calculations, when he says, tha
 Auson

formidable. That people inhabited the city of Cale^h. They had joined their forces with those of the Sidicini their neighbors, and the confederate army of both nations were entirely routed in one battle, and that not at all considerable, because the nearness of their cities to the field of battle, gave them the greater disposition to fly, and likewise made their flight more secure than otherwise it would have been. Nevertheless the senate did not give over all concern for this war, because the Sidicini had so often taken up arms themselves against the republic, assisted her enemies, or excited others to declare war against her. For this reason they used their utmost endeavors to have T. Valerius Corvus chosen consul a fourth time, the greatest general of the age. His colleague was M. Atilius Regulus; and that he might not be disappointed of that province, the senate desired Regulus to consent that Corvus should have it without casting lots. Having received the command of the victorious army from the former consuls, he marched directly against Cale where the war had begun, and upon the first onset, having routed the enemy, who were intimidated with the remembrance of their former defeat and the shouts of the Roman army, he attempted to storm the city. Here the ardor of the

T. Val.
Corvus, M.
Atilius Re-
gulus con-
suls.
Y. of R. 420.
B. J. C. 332.

Auson, the son of Ulysses and Calypso, gave name to Ausonia, and built the city of Arunca. This account is manifestly fabulous. At least it cannot be reconciled with that of Livy, who tells us, that this city was not founded till eight hundred years after the taking of Troy. What Dion. Hal. says of Auson, the son of Ulysses and Calypso, that he had reigned in the territory of Rome, favors much of those false traditions, which the whole tribe of poets had made venerable. Nor is more stress to be laid on what Hellanicus of Lesbos relates, viz. that the Ausones, being driven away by the Japyges, passed over into Sicily, with their king Siculus.

^a The city of Cale stood in Campania, between Teanum and Capua, on this side mount Massicus, and north of mount Gallicula, which se-

parates the lands called Stellates campi, from those of Cale. It's territory produced excellent wines, which Horace says were kept for the tables of the great men in Rome. The ancient naturalists say there was a spring in the neighborhood of this city, the water of which had the quality of making people drunk. Ferrarius and father Briet are mistaken, in distinguishing the city of Cale, from that which they call Calenum, and which, they say, still subsists, under the name of Carniola. The resemblance of the names made the poet Silus say, book viii. that Cale was founded by Calais, one of the Argonauts, the son of Boreas and Orithia, according to the fabulous tradition of the mythologists. Cale is now called *Calvi*, and gives title to a bishoprick in the kingdom of Naples.

soldiers

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XVI.



soldiers was so great, that they wanted to apply their scaling-ladders to the walls, and were positive they would mount them. But as this was a difficult attempt, Corvus chose rather to make himself master of the place by the labor of his men, than by exposing them to danger. For this reason, he raised a mount ^a and galleries ^b, and brought moveable towers ^c close to the walls, but a lucky accident prevented his using them. For one M. Fabius a Roman prisoner, taking the opportunity of the negligence of his guard, broke his chains on a festival day, fastened a cord to the battlements of the wall, and let himself down by his hands among the Roman machines. He prevailed with Corvus to attack the enemy, while they were asleep and loaded with wine and good cheer. And accordingly he made as easy a conquest of the Aufones in the assault of their capital, as in the battle wherein he had put them to flight. A great booty was taken, and after placing a garison in Cale, the legions were brought back to Rome. The senate decreed Corvus a triumph, and that Atilius might have his share of glory, both the consuls were ordered to lead an army against the Sidicini. Before they set out on this expedition, in obedience to an act of senate, they named L. Æmilius Mamercinus dictator, in order to preside in the comitia for the election of consuls. He appointed Q. Publilius Philo to be his general of horse. When he assembled the comitia, T. Veturius and Sp. Posthumius were chosen consuls. Although the war with the Sidicini was not finished, yet in order to oblige the people before they should have time to apply for it themselves, the consuls elect made a motion for sending a colony to Cale. The senate ordered two thousand men to be enrolled for that purpose, and appointed Cæcilius Duilius, T. Quinctius and M. Fabius triumvirs for leading out the colony and dividing the lands among them.

L. Æmil.
Mamercinus
dictator. Q.
Publil. Philo
general of
horse.

T. Veturius
and Sp. Posthumius
consuls.
Y. of R. 421.
B. J. C. 331.

^a See this Vol. book v. chap. vii. p. 64. note a.

^b Ibid. chap. v. p. 60. note b.

^c Ibid. note a.

AFTER this the new consuls having received the CHAP. XVII.
 command of the army from their predecessors, entered
 the territory of the Sidicini, and carried their devasta-
 tions even to their walls and capital. In the mean time,
 as the enemy had assembled a numerous army and
 seemed resolved to exert their utmost efforts in a
 decisive battle, and as a report was spread that they
 were soliciting the Samnites to join them, the consuls
 by order of the senate named P. Cornelius Rufinus
 dictator. He chose M. Antonius for his general of
 horse. But superstition made them fancy that
 there was some defect in their nomination, for which
 reason, they resigned their office. And because the
 plague followed, the government fell into an interreg-
 num, as if all the auspices had been infected with
 that contagion. At least Valerius the fifth interrex
 in order of succession created A. Cornelius a second
 time, and Cn. Domitius consuls. When all was
 quiet, the report of a war with the Gauls alarmed
 them so much, that they thought it proper to no-
 minate a dictator. M. Papirius Craffus was the man,
 and he made Valerius Poplicola his general of horse.
 While they were carrying on the levies with more
 diligence, than if Rome had been at war only with
 her neighbors, the spies brought word that all was
 quiet among the Gauls. The Samnites likewise
 were suspected of having been a whole year employ-
 ed in forming new designs against the republic, and
 for that reason she did not recal her troops from the
 country of the Sidicini. But the war, which Alexander
 king of Epirus made against the Lucani, drew in
 the Samnites to take part in their quarrel. These
 two nations engaged with him in a pitched battle,
 as he was making a descent at Pæstum^a. The
 king gained the day, and made an alliance with the
 Romans, but it is uncertain, how faithfully he would
 have kept it, if his arms had always met with the

P. Corn.
Rufinus dic-
tator, M.
Antonius
general of
horse.

A. Cornelius
and Cn. Do-
mitius con-
suls. Y. of
R. 422. B.
J. C. 330.

M. Papir.
Craffus dic-
tator, Valer.
Poplicola
general of
horse.

^a It was a maritime town near the mouth of the *Selo*. The natives call it Pesti at this day. It is but a vil-
lage.

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XVII.

same success. The same year a survey of the people was made, the new citizens were enrolled, and upon their account, two new tribes, the Mæcian^a and Scaptian^b were added by the censores Q. Publilius Philo and Sp. Posthumius. By a law proposed by L. Papirius the prætor, the inhabitants of Accerræ^c were made citizens of Rome, but had not the right of suffrage in their assemblies. These were the transactions of the republic in peace and war during this year.

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XVIII.

M. Claud.
Marcellus,
and C. Valerius
consuls,
Y. of R. 423.
B. J. C. 329.

THE following year, M. Claudius Marcellus and C. Valerius being consuls, there was a great mortality, occasioned either by the intemperance of the air or human treachery. I find the surnames of Flaccus and Potitus given to the consul Valerius in some annals, but they don't all agree about it, nor is it of any great importance to know which of them is the true one. I could rather wish, the accounts we have of those persons being poisoned, whose death makes this to be reckoned an unlucky year by reason of the raging of the plague, were really false, as all the historians don't assert it; but I must relate the story as it is transmitted down to us, that I may not diminish the credit that is due to any of them. When the men of chief note in the city were dying of the same distemper and went off almost all with the same symptoms, a maid servant came to Q. Fabius Maximus, who was then curule ædile, and promised to discover the cause of this public calamity, upon assurance that her information should not be prejudicial to herself. Fabius immediately acquainted the consuls, who laid the matter before the senate. And by their consent the informer had the promise of a pardon given her. Upon this, she deposed that the republic was di-

^a So called from a castle between *Luxurium* and *Pometia*.

^b It took its name from the city *Scaptia*, which Cluver places in the territory now called *Paferano*. But

father Kircher places it by *Longbe* near the *Anio* four miles from *Ped*

^c It lay between *Nola* and *Capua*, a retains its first name to this day.

ressed by the treachery of women; that some
dies prepared these poisonous medicines, and that
they would follow her directly, they might take
em in the fact. Those who attended her found
ome of them preparing their medicines and some
at were already laid up. The medicines were
rought into the forum, and the ladies with whom
ey were found, to the number of twenty, being
ited to appear before the people; two of them,
ornelia and Sergia, both patricians, insisting that
he medicines were wholesom, were desired by the
nformer to drink the potions in order to disprove
er accusation. They required some time to confer
with their accomplices, and after the people had re-
ired a little, proposed the matter to them in the
view of every body; and upon their consenting to
ake the potion, they drunk it off and perished all
y their own villainy. Their companions were im-
mediately apprehended, and discovered a great num-
ber of women concerned in this affair, of whom one
hundred and seventy were condemned to death.
Before this time, no body had been tried at Rome for
poisoning. The people looked upon it as a prodigy,
and thought it rather the effect of the madness than
of the wickedness of their minds. Therefore they
examined the records, and finding that formerly,
upon a secession of the commons, a nail had been
driven by the dictator, and that the minds of the
disaffected had been brought to reason by that cere-
mony, they thought it proper to nominate a dictator
for that purpose. Cn. Quintilius was the person
pitched upon. He chose L. Valerius for his general
of horse, and after driving the nail, they resigned
their office.

Cn. Quinti-
lius dictator.
L. Valerius
general of
horse.

THE consuls this year were L. Papirius Crassus for
the second time, and L. Plautius Venno. In the be-
ginning of their administration, deputies came to
Rome from the Fabraterni^a a people of the Volsci

L. Papirius
Crassus, L.
Plautius
Venno con-
suls.

^a Their capital city belonged to the Volsci, was situated on the con-

fines of the *Campagna di Roma*, and is now called *Falvaterra*.

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and from the Lucanians, intreating the Romans to take them under their protection. They promised faithful and unlimited submission to the Roman government; and they would defend them from the arms of the Samnites. Upon this, the senate sent ambassadors to desire the Samnites to commit no hostilities upon the frontiers of these cantons. This embassy had the desired effect; not that the Samnites had any love for peace, but because they were not ready to make war. The same year, a war broke out with the Privernates. The inhabitants of Fundi had joined them; their general likewise was one Vitruvius Vaccus a native of that city, a man of figure not only in his own country but also at Rome. He had a house on the Palatine hill. After it was demolished and the ground sold, the place was called Vaccus's meadow. L. Papirius marched against him as he was ravaging the territories of Setia, Norba and Cora with great fury, and encamped at a small distance from him. Vitruvius was not wise enough to secure himself within his entrenchments against the superior power of the enemy, nor had he courage to fight them at any distance from his camp. For before he had drawn all his men without the gate of it, as they thought more of turning their backs, than of fighting the enemy, he engaged without either conduct or courage. And though he was totally defeated without difficulty, yet as his camp was so high, and his retreat to it so easy, it was no hard matter for him to save his men from any considerable slaughter. They fell hardly any of them in the attack; a few of the hindmost of them were cut off, as they were hurrying into their camp in disorder. The remainder as soon as it was dark retired with precipitation to Privernum and from thence to Petium, that they might secure themselves better within walls than entrenchments. Plautius the other consul, having laid waste the country of the Privernates and carried off the booty, led his army into the territory of Fundi. As soon as he entered their frontiers, their senate met him

body and represented, “ That they came not to ask any favor for Vitruvius or his faction; but to intercede in behalf of the people of Fundi, who had no share in the rebellion, even in the judgment of Vitruvius himself, who had taken refuge in Privernum, and not in his own country Fundi. The enemies of the Roman people having forgotten their obligations to Rome and Fundi, both their native countries, were to be sought for and punished at Privernum. The people of Fundi had kept the peace, their hearts were Roman, and they retained a grateful remembrance of the right of citizenship with which the Romans had honored them. Wherefore they intreated the consul, that he would turn the war from an innocent people, and assured him that their lands, their city, their own bodies and those of their wives and children, were and would remain at the disposal of the Roman people.” The consul, having commended the Fundani and dispatched letters to Rome with an account of their dutiful behaviour, took the road to Privernum. Claudius the historian writes, that the consul first punished those who had been the ringleaders of the revolt; that three hundred and fifty of the rebels had been sent bound to Rome, that the senate would not accept of that surrender, because they thought the people of Fundi intended to rid themselves of all danger, by exposing these mean indigent wretches to death.

WHILE the two consular armies laid siege to Privernum, one of the consuls was sent for to Rome to hold the comitia. Prisons were first erected in the circus this year. And before the republic was freed from all concern about the war with the Privernates, she was alarmed with the dreadful news that the Gauls were in arms; a report which was never neglected by the fathers. For in consequence of this report, the new consuls L. Æmilius Mamercinus and C. Plautius, the very day that they entered upon

L. Æmilius Mamercinus and C. Plautius consuls. Y. of R. 425. B. J. C. 3-7.

CHAP.

XX.

their office, which was the first of July, were immediately ordered to share the provinces between them; and Mamercinus, to whom the war with the Gauls had fallen, was commanded to raise an army without admitting any excuse. Even the meanest artificers, and those whose occupations were sedentary men very unfit for war were said to have been enrolled. A numerous army was led to Veii, that from thence they might march to meet the Gauls. But the consul did not think it advisable to advance further, lest the enemy should escape him by taking another rout to the city. A few days after, upon receiving information that all was quiet among the enemy, he turned all his forces from the Gauls against Privernum. There are two accounts of the taking of this city. Some say, it was carried by assault, and that Vitruvius fell alive into their hands; others write, that before the assault begun the Privernates came to the consul carrying the caduceus^a in their hands, that they surrendered at discretion, and delivered up Vitruvius to the Romans. When the senate was consulted about Vitruvius and the Privernates, they sent for the consul Plautius to receive the honor of a triumph, after he had demolished the walls of Privernum and placed a strong garison in it. They ordered Vitruvius to be kept in prison till the consul should return, and then to be scourged and put to death. They voted that his house which stood on the Palatine hill should be razed, and his goods consecrated to Semo Sancus^b. The money arising from the sale were laid out in globes of brass, which were set up in the little chapel of Sancus over against the temple of Quirinus. With regard to the senate of

^a It was a rod with two serpents twisted round it, and was the symbol of peace.

^b The name of *Semones* was given to those who had obtained a place among the Gods, though inferior to the great Gods. As Hercules, Æneas, Romulus, &c. The *Sancus* in

question was the same with the Grecian Hercules, who was reckoned the avenger of breach of faith. *Hemones* according to Lipsius, was used in old Latin for *homines*, hence comes the word *Semones*, as it were, *Semi-homines* or demi-Gods.

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Privernum, they ordered, that those of that body who had staid in the place, after the inhabitants revolted from the Romans, should dwell on the other side the Tiber, under the same penalty with the citizens of Velitræ^a. After these resolutions, there was no further mention of the Privernates till the time of Plautius's triumph. But when this was over, and Vitruvius with his accomplices in the rebellion put to death, as the public seemed to be glatted with the punishment of the guilty, the consul judging it a seasonable opportunity to mention them, said, "Conscript fathers, since the authors of the revolt of the Privernates, have received condign punishment both from the immortal Gods and from you, what is your pleasure with regard to the innocent multitude? For, though indeed it is my duty rather to ask your opinions than to give my own, yet when I consider that the Privernates are neighbors to the Samnites, with whom we have but very uncertain peace. I would have as little ground left for resentment between them and us as possible."

CHAP. XXI.

WHILE the fate of this motion was yet doubtful, some advising mild and others rigorous measures according to their different tempers; one of the deputies of the Privernates remembering the condition in which he had been born, rather than his present sad situation, rendered it still more precarious. For being asked by one of the senators who had proposed to treat them with severity, "What punishment he thought his countrymen deserved," he replied, "Such as those deserve, who think themselves worthy of being free." When the consul saw that those who before opposed the cause of the Privernates were more exasperated by this haughty answer, that he might draw from him a milder one by a kind question, he said, "What kind of peace can we expect to have with you, if we should forgive you?" "Fixed and

^a See chap. xiv. of this book.

CHAP. “perpetual,” replied he, “if you grant us a good
 XXI. “one: but if it is a bad one it will be of no long
 ~~~~~ “continuance.” Some considered these words of  
 the Privernate as an open menace, and tending to  
 excite his countrymen, who were quiet, to revolt.  
 But the more judicious part of the senate put a  
 more favorable construction upon the answers, and  
 said, “the deputy had spoke like a brave man and  
 “one that was free. Can you believe, added they,  
 “that any people or single man will remain in a  
 “condition they are weary of, longer than necessity  
 “obliges them? Peace can only be faithfully ob-  
 “served by those who make it with a good will,  
 “but no fidelity is to be expected from a people by  
 “those who would reduce them to slavery.” The  
 consul himself contributed most to bring over the  
 senate to this opinion, by calling out frequently to  
 those that had been formerly consuls, and gave  
 their opinions first, so loud that many members  
 could hear him, “that they only were worthy  
 “to become Romans, who were jealous of their  
 “liberty above all things.” By this means they  
 carried their point in the senate, and by their or-  
 der a bill was presented to the people, for grant-  
 ing the Privernates the freedom of Rome. The  
 same year three hundred citizens were sent as a  
 colony to Anxur, and each had two acres of land  
 assigned him.

CHAP. THE next year, P. Plautius Proculus and P. Cor-  
 XXII. nelius Scapula being consuls, nothing remarkabl  
 ~~~~~ happened at home or abroad, except that a co-  
 P. Plautius Proculus, lony was sent to Fregellæ^a a city which had former-
 and P. Cornelius Scapula consuls. ly belonged to the Sidicini, and since to the Volsci
 Y. of R. 427. and M. Flavius made a distribution of raw flesh
 B. J. C. 325. the funeral of his mother. Some thought that und-
 pretext of doing her honor, he took an opportuni

^a A city situated on the right bank of the Liris. It was destroyed in the six hundred and thirty second year of Rome by Opimius. The place where it stood is now called *Ceperano*, wh the bishop of Aquinum has his residence.

of making that grateful return to the people, which they deserved for acquitting him, when he had been accused before them by the *Ædiles* for debauching a married woman. This dole in gratitude for a past sentence proved the cause of conferring honor upon him; for in the next *comitia* he was preferred to those who were competitors for the tribuneship of the people. Not far from *Fregellæ* stood the city *Palæpolis*^a, where now stands the city of Naples. The same people dwelt in the two cities. They had come from *Cumæ*^b. The *Cumani* derived their original from the capital^c of *Eubœa*^d. By means of the fleet in which they had been transported from their native country, their power was considerable along the coast which they inhabited. They landed first upon the islands *Ænaria*^e and *Pethecusa*^f, after that they ventured to remove, and settled on the continent. The *Palæpolitans* depending on their own strength, and that the *Samnites* would break their treaty with the Romans, or trusting to a pestilence, which was said to rage at Rome at that time, committed many hostilities against the Romans inhabiting the lands of *Campania* and *Falernum*. For this reason, *L. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Q. Publilius Philo* for the second time, being consuls, after the *Feciales* had been sent to *Palæpolis* to demand restitution of goods, and the Greeks, a people more daring in words than brave in action, having returned an haughty answer, the people with consent of the fathers resolved to make war upon them. The consuls therefore shared their provinces by lot. It was *Publilius's* to carry on the war against the Greeks, *Cornelius* with another army marched to watch the *Samnites* if they should make any motion. For it was reported that they were waiting

CHAL
XXII.

L. Cornelius
Lentulus
and Q. Pub-
lius Philo
consuls.
Y. of R. 421
B. J. C. 324

^a Between Naples, and *Toredi Greco*, now *Poggio Reale*; but according to *Holsten*, the present *St. Jouanni Atteduccio*.

^b See book iv. chap. iv.

^c *Chalcis*.

^d *Negroponte* an island in the *Ægean* sea.

^e Over against cape *Misenus*. It is now called *Ischia*.

^f Over against the same cape, and now called *Procida*.

CHAP. XXII. for the revolt of the Campanians, and that as soon as they had brought them into their measures, they would join their own troops with theirs. For that reason Cornelius thought it best to keep a standing camp in their neighborhood. Both consuls sent notice to the senate, that they had little reason to expect the Samnites would remain quiet.

CHAP. XXIII. PUBLILIUS informed them that two thousand soldiers belonging to Nola and four thousand Samnites had entered into Palæopolis, rather by force, than with the consent of the Greeks. Cornelius sent them word that the magistrates of Samnium had ordered a levy to be made, that all the country was impatient for war, and openly endeavored to seduce their neighbors the Privernates, Fundians and Formians. Upon this, the Romans thought it proper, before they should begin hostilities, to send ambassadors to the Samnites, who returned them an haughty answer. They complained highly of the injuries of the Romans, and were equally careful to justify themselves with regard to what the latter laid to their charge. “ The
 “ Greeks, they said, had received no assistance by
 “ any order of their state. They had not se-
 “ duced the inhabitants of Fundi and Formiæ, be-
 “ cause if the Romans would have a war, they
 “ did not despair of being able to maintain it by
 “ their own strength. They could not dissemble
 “ their taking it very ill that the Roman people had
 “ rebuilt Fregellæ, a city which the Samnites had
 “ taken from the Volsci and destroyed, and placed
 “ a colony in the country of the Samnites, which the
 “ people they had planted there called by the old
 “ name Fregellæ. And if those, who had done them
 “ this wrong, did not make them reparation, they
 “ would do their utmost to wipe off the affront and
 “ reproach cast upon them thereby.” When the
 Roman ambassador desired them to refer the matter to
 the arbitration of their common friends and allies, the
 Samnite senate replied. “ Why should we not deal
 “ plainly?

“ plainly? Our differences cannot be decided either
 “ by the smooth words of embassadors, or any man’s
 “ arbitration, but by our swords; the common fate
 “ of war, and the plains of Campania in which we
 “ must engage. Let us therefore pitch our camps
 “ over against one another between Capua and Suef-
 “ fula, and there determine whether the Samnites or
 “ Romans shall give laws to Italy.” The Roman
 embassadors answered, “ that they would not go to
 “ the place to which the enemy had challenged
 “ them, but wherever their generals should lead
 “ them.” By this time Publilius having posted
 himself conveniently between Palæpolis and Naples,
 had cut off all communication between them, and
 thereby prevented their sending assistance to each
 other, which they were wont to do when either of
 the cities were straitened. But as the day of election
 approached, and Publilius was ready to attack the
 enemy’s city, it would have been detrimental to the
 republic to have recalled him, especially as he had
 daily hopes of taking it; for this reason the tribunes
 were prevailed on to petition the people, that Publi-
 lius, after his consulate should be ended, should
 continue the war in quality of proconsul, till the
 Greeks should be entirely reduced. And as the
 senate did not think fit to recall Cornelius who had
 already entered Samnium, from the prosecution of
 the war, they sent letters to him desiring him to
 nominate a dictator to hold the comitia. He named
 M. Claudius Marcellus, who chose Sp. Posthumius
 for his general of horse. Howbeit the dictator did
 not hold the comitia, because a dispute arose about
 the validity of his nomination. And the augurs be-
 ing consulted about it, declared that there had been
 some defect in it. But the tribunes in their in-
 vectives represented this conduct as suspicious and
 unfair. For they said, “ It could not have been
 “ an easy matter to come to the knowledge of that
 “ defect, seeing the consul had declared the dictator
 “ in the beginning of the dead time of the night,

M. Claud.
 Marcellus
 dictator, Sp.
 Posthumius
 general of
 horse.

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“ and had not written to any person either public-
“ ly or privately about it. That there was not a
“ single mortal, who could say he had either seen
“ or heard any thing that could invalidate the au-
“ spices; nor could the augurs, sitting at Rome,
“ discover what defect could happen to the consul
“ in his camp. Who is there, added they, that does
“ not plainly see that a plebeian dictator is the only
“ defect the augurs could find?” But all these and
other complaints of the tribunes proved ineffectual;
for the government fell into an interregnum, and
after the comitia had been put off several times upon
different pretexts, at length Lucius Æmilius the
fourteenth interrex, created C. Poetelius and L. Pa-
pirius Mugillanus consuls. In some annals I find
the latter surnamed Cursor.

C. Poetelius,
and L. Papir.
Mugillanus
consuls.
Y. of R. 429.
B. J. C. 323.

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XXIV.

THE same year it is said that the city of Alexan-
dria in Egypt was founded, and Alexander king of E-
pirus slain by a Lucanian exile, whereby was verified
the oracle of Jupiter of Dodona^a. When the Ta-
rentines had sent for him into Italy, the oracle had
forewarned him to beware of the waters of Acheron^b
and the city Pandosia^c, because he should finish his
days there. For this reason he made the greater
haste to pass over into Italy, that he might be at a
distance from the city Pandosia in Epirus, and the
river Acheron which runs from the district Molossis
into the infernal lake, and from thence empties
itself into the gulph of Threspotia^d. But as people
by endeavoring to avoid their fate often run head-
long upon it, so Alexander after he had often rout-
ed the legions of the Lucanians and Bruttians,
made himself master of Heraclea^e a colony of the

^a A city of Epirus where was a fa-
mous oracle and temple of Jupiter.

^b This is the famous Acheron,
which rises in the marshes of Ache-
rusa, and empties itself into the
gulph of Larta.

^c In the country of the Molossi.

^d Gulpho di Larta.

^e Of Lucania. It stood between
the rivers Seno and Agri, near the
present Policaro.

Tarentines, taken Consentia^a and Sipontus^b from the Lucanians, Terina^c from the Bruttians, and several other cities belonging to the Messapians and the Lucanians, and had sent three hundred noble families into Epirus, whom he intended to keep as hostages; he posted his army near Pandosia on three hills at a small distance from one another, overlooking the territories of the Lucanians and Bruttians, from whence he sent out parties all round to make incursions into the enemy's land. He had as a trusty guard about his person two hundred Lucanian exiles: but they, as is common with such persons, changed their fidelity with the fortune of those on whom they depended. The continual rains which fell overflowing the vallies, cut off the communication between the three bodies of the king's army; and the enemy falling suddenly upon the two posts where the king was not, cut them off entirely, and then brought all their forces to blockade the king himself. Upon this, the Lucanian exiles sent messengers to their countrymen, and having obtained a promise that they should be permitted to return home in safety, engaged to deliver up the king either dead or alive. But Alexander with a choice body of men made a bold attempt, for he broke through the middle of his enemies, engaged with the Lucanian general hand to hand and slew him. He then assembled his men who had been dispersed through the country after their rout, and came to a river where the ruins of a bridge, which the violence of the waters had broke down, gave some hopes of a passage. As the army was crossing this river at a dangerous ford, a soldier who was afraid and fatigued cursing it's unlucky name, said, "thou art justly called Acheros a river of sorrow." As soon as the king heard this, he immediately bethought himself

^a Now called Consenza the capital of hither Calabria, near the river Crati.

^b A city of Apulia, it's ruins are to be seen a mile from Maufredonia.

^c According to Pliny, it was built

by the people of Crotona, on the coasts of the Tyrrhenian sea, a little way from the Savato, near the gulph of St. Euphemia. Barri believes it stood near Nuceria.

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of his destiny, and hesitated a little whether he should pass the river or not. Upon this one Sotimus, one of the king's pages, having asked him why he delayed to go forward, considering he was in so great danger, informed him that the treacherous Lucanians sought an opportunity to betray him. At this the king looked behind him and seeing them at a distance coming up in a body, drew his sword and spurred his horse into the middle of the river. He had already reached the shallow water on the opposite side, when a Lucanian exile at a great distance lanced a dart at him and slew him. He fell immediately into the river, which carried his body with the javelin sticking in it to a post belonging to the enemy. There they mangled it in a horrible manner; for having cut it through the middle, they sent one half to Consentia, and kept the other themselves to make sport with. As they were throwing darts and stones at it at a distance, a woman mingling herself with the crowd, who carried their rage beyond the pitch of human resentment, with tears in her eyes entreated them to desist from these outrages, telling them that her husband and children were taken by the enemy, and that she hoped to be able to redeem them with the king's body though terribly mangled. Upon this they desisted, and by the care of one woman all the scattered parts that could be found, were buried at Consentia. His bones were carried to Metapontus to his enemies, and from thence conveyed to Epirus to his wife Cleopatra and his sister Olympias; the former of whom was the sister and the latter the mother of Alexander the great. Let it suffice to have given this brief account of the tragical end of Alexander king of Epirus, whom we thought fit to mention, though fortune suffered him to have no war with the Romans, because he carried on several in Italy.

THE same year there was a lectisternium at Rome in order to appease the Gods, which was the fifth entertainment made for that purpose, since the building of the city. For after the new consuls had sent the Feciales to declare war against the Samnites, and while they were making greater preparations of all kinds against them than against the Greeks, some new auxiliaries joined them at a time when they had no such expectations. For the Lucanians^a and Apulians^b, nations who had had no correspondence with the Roman people before this time, submitted to them, promising to furnish men and arms for the war. Upon which they were received as allies, and a treaty was concluded with them. At the same time the war was carried on successfully in Samnium, for three cities, Allifa^c, Callifæ^d and Ruffrium^e were subdued by the Romans, and the consul at his first coming ravaged the rest of their lands far and near. This war being thus happily begun, the other, by which the Greeks were blockaded, was at the same time brought to a conclusion. For besides that the communication between the enemy's fortifications

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^a Descended from the Samnites. They inhabited the country called Great Greece, extending on the one hand to the Tuscan sea and on the other to the gulph of Tarentum on the Sicilian sea. They are divided from the Picentines by the river Silarius, from the Bruttians by Laus, and from the Apulians by the Bradano. The greatest part of it is now called the Basilicata; that part to the west is called a principality. And in the middle of it is part of the hither Calabria, a province of the kingdom of Naples.

^b They inhabited a country divided into two cantons. The first formerly called Apulia Daunia, now Puglia Piana, part of Capatinata, towards mount Garganus, between the rivers Forteræ and Cervaro. The second, called Apulia Peucetia, comprehends at present a part of Capatinata, between the rivers Cervaro and Offanto, the territory of Bari, a part of the

Basilicata, and of the territory of Otranto. So that the whole country of Apulia was bounded to the north by the Trento, or Fortore, and the Adriatic sea, as far as Brindisi; to the south by the Isthmus between Brindisi and Tarentum, from that to the Bradano, which separates this province from Lucania; and to the west by the country of the Hirpini from the head of the Bradano to that of the Fortore. It extends eastward and northwards to the coast of the gulph of Venice, southward to the gulph of Tarentum; and to the westward is bounded by part of the Basilicata, the hither and further principalities, the county of Molise and a part of the further Abruzzo.

^c Stands on the banks of the Volturnus and is now called Alifi.

^d Now called Cariffe.

^e Ruvo, an episcopal city on the Apennines.

being

CHAP. being stopt, and thereby one part of them cut off
 XXV. from the other, they suffered greater hardships within
 in their own walls, than those wherewith the enemy threatned them; and as if they had been absolute captives to their own garisons, their children and wives were abused, and they underwent the severest miseries to which conquered cities are exposed. Therefore upon a report that fresh assistance was coming from the Tarentines and Samnites, they thought they had more of the latter already within their walls than they wished for, and the Greeks with as great impatience looked for their countrymen the Tarentines to assist them to make head against the Samnite and Nolan soldiers, as to oppose the Romans their declared enemies. At last, to surrender to the Romans seemed the least of all these evils. Charilaus and Nymphius, the leading men of the city, having communicated their design to one another, divided the execution of the enterprize between them. One of them was to go over to the Roman general as a deserter, and the other to stay in the city to prepare matters there. Charilaus was the person who came to Publius Philo. “ He said, he had resolved to
 “ deliver up the walls of the city to him, and pray
 “ ed it might be lucky, happy and auspicious to the
 “ people of Rome and Palæopolis. It depended
 “ on the fidelity of the Romans to determine
 “ whether his country should seem to be saved or
 “ betrayed by that step. He made no private
 “ treaty nor asked any favor for himself, he came
 “ not so much to make any treaty for his country
 “ to intercede in it’s behalf, that if his enterprize
 “ should succeed, the Roman people would rather
 “ consider with how much zeal and danger they
 “ had sought their friendship, than the folly and
 “ rashness with which they had despised it.” After
 being commended by the general, he received from
 him three thousand men in order to seize that part
 of the town where the Samnites were posted. The
 comm

command of the party was given to L. Quintius a legionary tribune.

AT the same time Nymphius applied to the Samnite commander, and by representing to him that as all the Roman forces were employed either in Samnium or about Palæopolis, had artfully prevailed on him to suffer him to sail round with the fleet to the Roman territory, promising to ravage not only their sea-coast, but also the neighborhood of Rome. But to prevent their discovering his design, he must set sail in the night time, and for that purpose launch the ships immediately. In order to hasten the departure of the fleet, all the Samnite youth, except the necessary guard of the city, were sent to the shore. While Nymphius wasted time, by giving contrary orders to different persons on purpose, and the crowd confused one another in the dark, Charilaus was admitted into the city by his friends according to concert, and having filled the highest parts of it with Roman soldiers, ordered them to set up a shout. The Greeks had notice of it from their chiefs and did not stir. The Nolan soldiers broke out through a back part of the city, and fled the way to Nola. The Samnites for the present thought their being shut out of the city a convenience, because they were thereby the better qualified to shift for themselves, but after they were out of danger it seem'd to add to the disgrace of their flight; for having left all their baggage in the hands of the enemy, they were even without their arms exposed to the ridicule both of strangers and their own countrymen, and returned home stript and destitute of every thing. I am not ignorant that there is another account that this city was betrayed by the Samnites; but I am more inclined to follow the historians of greatest credit. Besides the treaty concluded with the people of Naples, for that city was from that time the capital of the Grecian state, makes it more probable they voluntarily became friends. Publilius had a triumph granted him, because it was firmly believed the enemy had been

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so

CHAP. so straitned by the blockade that they had been oblig-
 XXVI. ed to surrender. A double unprecedented honor
 was conferred on this man; for he was continued in
 his authority beyond the usual time, which had never
 been done to any person before him, and obtain-
 ed a triumph after his honorable command was ex-
 pired.

P. SOON after another war broke out with the
 XXVII. Greeks inhabiting the other coast of Italy. For af-
 ter the Tarentines had for some time buoyed up the
 Palæopolitans with vain hopes of assistance which
 they never sent them, when they heard the Ro-
 mans were put in possession of their city, they in-
 veighed against them, as if they had not disap-
 pointed them, but had been disappointed by them,
 and were transported with fury and hatred against the
 Romans. Their resentment was further heightened
 upon receiving advice that the Lucanians and Apu-
 lians had put themselves under the protection of the
 Romans, for the treaties with both these nations
 were begun that year. “ They said the Romans
 “ were come nigh to them, and matters were brought
 “ to that pass, that they must either have them as
 “ their lords or their enemies. That the fate of
 “ their state really depended on the event of the war
 “ with the Samnites, who were the only nation that
 “ remained as a barrier to them, and much weaken-
 “ ed since the revolt of the Lucanians, whom it was
 “ still possible to prevail upon to renounce their alli-
 “ ance with Rome, and even yet to bring them back to
 “ the common cause, by using some contrivance to
 “ sow discord between them and their protectors.”
 As they who studied to embroil matters approved
 of this design, they hired some young Lucanians,
 who were rather men of quality in their own country
 than persons of honor. After they had beaten one
 another with rods, they run naked into the assemblies
 of their countrymen and cried out, that because they
 had ventured to enter the Roman camp, they had
 been

been whipped by the consuls in that cruel manner, and narrowly escaped losing their heads. As the fight was naturally shocking, and had more the appearance of an injury than of an imposture, the people in a rage obliged their magistrates with their outcries to assemble their senate. Some of them surrounding the senators called out for war, while others were dispersed about the country to stir up the farmers to take arms. And the outcry having discomposed even the soundest judgments, the senate came to a resolution that their alliance with the Samnites should be renewed, and ambassadors sent to them for that purpose. Because this sudden resolution seemed to be formed without any just reason, the Samnites could scarcely give credit to it, and therefore obliged them to give them hostages and to admit Samnite garisons into their fortified towns. The Lucanians, blinded with passion and the imposture, submitted to every thing. In a short time after the cheat began to come to light, after the authors of the calumny had withdrawn to Tarentum; but as the Lucanians had tied up their hands, nothing remained but a fruitless repentance.

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XXVII.

THIS year was in some measure a new beginning of liberty to the commons of Rome, because debtors were no longer adjudged to servitude for the payment of their debts. The former law concerning them was changed on account of the detestable passion, and remarkable cruelty of one usurer. L. Papirius was the man. One C. Publilius had made himself a slave to him in order to pay his father's debts. His age and beauty, which might have excited the compassion of his master, enflamed him with infamous lust. Papirius looking upon the bloom of his youth as the casual interest of his debt, at first endeavored to entice Publilius with lewd speeches. But when he found that he gave no ear to his vile solicitations, he proceeded to terrify him with menaces, and every now and then put him in mind of his condition. At last, when he found that he had a greater regard for his

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his honor than present ease, he ordered him to be stript and whipped. The young man being torn all over his body, run into the forum complaining of the base designs and cruelty of the usurer. A great crowd of people moved with compassion for the young man, provoked at the horrid indignity offered him, and likewise from a regard to their own interest and the honor of their children, flocked into the forum and hurried from thence in a body to the senate-house. The consuls were obliged by this sudden tumult to assemble the senate, and as the fathers entered the house, the citizens fell down at their feet and shewed them the young man's back all torn with rods. Thus on account of the outrageous insult offered to one man, the bond of public faith was that day dissolved, and the consuls were ordered to propose a bill to the people, enacting, “ that no
“ person should be kept in irons or any other bonds,
“ but for crimes that deserved them, and that only
“ till the criminal had suffered the punishment due
“ by law. And that creditors should have a right
“ to attach the goods and not the persons of their
“ debtors.” Upon this those who were in servitude for debt were discharged; and provision made for the future, that none should be hereafter detained therein on that account.

CHAP.
XXIX.

THE same year when the war with the Samnites, the sudden revolt of the Lucanians and the Tarentines the authors of it, gave the fathers sufficient uneasiness, it happened that the Vestini^a took part with the Samnites. But this confederacy was rather canvassed in common conversation, than debated in any public assembly. Wherefore the consuls, L. Furius Camillus for the second time, and Junius Brutus Scæva made it their first concern to consult the senate about it. And though it was a new affair, yet the fathers were so much embarrassed, that they equally dreaded to undertake the war and to forbear it. For

Lucius Furius Camillus and Junius Brutus Scæva consuls.

Y. of R. 430.
B. J. C. 322.

^a See vol. iii. book x. chap. iii. note ^a.

if they let the Fidicini escape with impunity, they were afraid of encouraging their neighbors to fall upon them, out of mere wantonness and pride; but on the other hand, if they should chastise them as they deserved, they were apprehensive that an instance of severity, which so nearly affected themselves, would determine the nations about to take arms either out of resentment or fear. The united armies of the Marfi, Peligni and Marrucini were at least every way equal to the Samnites, and the Romans made no doubt but these nations would take up arms in favor of the Vestini, if they should attack them. However the party that discovered more courage than precaution, prevailed at present, and the event convinced them that fortune favors the brave. The people with the consent of the senate ordered war to be declared against the Vestini. That province fell to Brutus by lot, and Camillus had Samnium. Armies were led to both places, and the care which the enemy was obliged to take to defend their own territories, hindered them from joining their forces. It happened that L. Furius, on whom the stress of the war lay, was seized with a violent distemper and quitted the command of the army. Being ordered to nominate a dictator to prosecute the war, he pitched upon L. Papirius Cursor, who was by far the greatest general of his age. He appointed Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus his general of horse. These two commanders distinguished themselves in their office by their noble exploits, but they became more remarkable by their quarrel, which had like to have brought them to blows. The other consul committed all manner of hostilities against the Vestini, and met always with the same success. For he ravaged their country, and by plundering and burning their houses and standing corn, forced them to hazard a battle, and in one action, which however cost the Romans a great deal of blood, so weakened the enemy, that they not only fled back into their camp, but not thinking themselves secure in their lines, stole away into their towns and resolved to defend themselves

L. Papirius
Cursor dict.
Q. Fabius
Maximus
Rullianus
gen. of horse.

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selves within their walls. At last he laid siege to their cities, and by the great ardor of his men, and their resentment on account of the wounds which most of them had received in the battle, he first scaled Cutina^a, and after that Cinglia^b. He gave the plunder of both cities to his soldiers, because neither the enemy's gates nor walls had been able to discourage them.

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THE dictator marched into Samnium, but there was something uncertain in the auspices ; however this did not affect the war, for that was carried on successfully, but the generals whose mutual animosity transported them even to rage and fury. For Papirius by the advice of the augur returned to Rome to renew the auspices, he ordered the general of the horse to keep himself in his post and not to fight the enemy in his absence. Fabius after the dictator's departure was informed by his scouts that the enemy were as secure and remiss in their duty, as if there had not been a single Roman in Samnium. Upon which this young officer either highly provoked, because all the power seemed to be lodged in the dictator, or tempted by an opportunity of fighting the enemy to advantage, marched with his army in the order of battle, and ready for action, to Imbrinium^c, for that was the name of the place, and there engaged the Samnites. The success of the battle was such, that nothing more could have been done by the dictator if he had been there in person : the general and the soldiers performed their parts gallantly, and answered the favorable expectations they entertained of one another. The horse likewise, after several unsuccessful attempts to break through the Samnite army, by the advice of L. Cominius a legionary tribune, unbridled their horses and spurred them with so much fury against the enemy, that they could not stand the violence of the

^a We find no traces of Cutina, Cluver supposes an error has crept into the text, and that Cutina should

be read Aufina, now called Ofeno.

^b Quite unknown to Geographers.

^c Quite unknown.

charge. They hewed the arms and cut down all the men they met in their way. The foot seconded the attack of the cavalry, and fell upon the enemy when in disorder. It is said that twenty thousand of them were slain that day. I find in some authors that Fabius engaged the enemy twice in the dictator's absence, and obtained two signal victories over them. But most ancient historians speak only of one battle; and some annals make no mention of the affair at all. The general of the horse, having got much booty by the great slaughter he had made of the enemy, piled up the arms in a large heap, and burnt them to ashes; either because he had vowed to dedicate them to some God, or according to Fabius the historian, that the dictator might not reap the fruit of his victory, by inserting his own name in the inscription, or causing the spoils to be carried before him in his triumph. The letters likewise with the account of his victory, which he sent to the senate and not to the dictator, are a proof that he had no design to allow him any share of his glory. This was certainly the interpretation that Papirius put upon it; for while others rejoiced on account of the victory, he looked sad and breathed revenge. He also immediately dismissed the senate, hurried out of the house, and asserted in all places that the majesty of the dictatorship and military discipline had been as really defeated by the general of the horse, and suffered as much from him as the Samnite legions, if his contempt of authority should escape unpunished. Then he set out post for the camp, breathing menaces and vengeance; howbeit he could not get thither, before Fabius had accounts of his coming. For some expresses had come from the city to inform him the dictator was upon his way, that he was eagerly bent to punish him, and almost in every other sentence commended the severity of T. Manlius.

UPON this advice, Fabius immediately assembled the army, “ and conjured the soldiers to defend
Vol. II. A a “ him



“ him against the arbitrary cruelty of the dictator
 “ with the same courage with which they had de-
 “ fended the republic against her most implacable
 “ enemies, in the late battle gained under his auspi-
 “ ces and conduct. The dictator, said he, is coming
 “ transported with jealousy and envy at the bravery
 “ and success of his neighbor: he is mad at the ad-
 “ vantage gained over the enemy in his absence, and
 “ would willingly, if he could, transfer the victory
 “ from the Romans to the Samnites. He declares
 “ in all places, that I have despised his orders, as if
 “ those orders not to fight, had not proceeded from
 “ the same spirit of jealousy, which makes him
 “ uneasy at our victory. It was spite which made
 “ him ambitious to keep others from exerting their
 “ courage: he would have taken the arms from
 “ the soldiers, though they were most eager to use
 “ them, that they might be obliged to remain un-
 “ active in his absence. L. Papirius now takes it
 “ amiss, and is even transported with rage because
 “ the soldiers have used their hands and arms with-
 “ out him, and L. Fabius has considered himself as
 “ general of the horse, and not one of the dictator’s
 “ serjeants. What would he have done if we had
 “ lost the battle, as we might, considering the un-
 “ certainty of events and the common fate of war;
 “ when he threatens the general of the horse with
 “ death, after he has defeated the enemy and gain-
 “ ed as complete a victory as he could have done
 “ himself, with all his superior abilities? But after
 “ all, he bears no greater resentment against the ge-
 “ neral of the horse, than against the legionary tri-
 “ bunes, the centurions and soldiers themselves. If
 “ he could he would wreck his vengeance on them
 “ all, but as he cannot do this, he intends to cause
 “ it to fall upon one. Jealousy like a flame flies
 “ upwards, and accordingly Papirius attacked the
 “ head and chief of the enterprize. But when
 “ he shall have taken from him his life and the glory
 “ of the victory, he would exercise his arbitrary

“ power over the army as so many prisoners, and
 “ dare to treat the soldiers as he had done the
 “ general of the horse. In defending his cause,
 “ he said, they would defend their common liberty.
 “ And if they were as unanimous in maintaining
 “ their victory, as they had been in gaining it, and
 “ all united in favor of one single person, they could
 “ not miss to dispose the dictator to more moderate
 “ measures ; but to conclude, he committed his life
 “ and fortune to their protection and valor.”

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IMMEDIATELY the whole assembly, set-
 ting up a shout, bade him to be of good courage,
 for no man should hurt him while the legions were
 safe. Soon after the dictator arrived, and immedi-
 ately assembled the army by sound of trumpet.
 When silence was proclaimed, the crier summoned
 Q. Fabius general of the horse to appear, and upon
 his coming up to the foot of the tribunal, Papirius
 accosted him in this manner : “ Q. Fabius, said he,
 “ since the authority of the dictator is the highest in
 “ the republic, if the consuls who have succeed-
 “ ed the kings in their power, and the prætors,
 “ who are created with the same auspices as the
 “ consuls, obey him, I ask you, whether you
 “ think it reasonable that a general of horse should
 “ be obedient to his orders or not ? and since
 “ you knew I had come from home with uncer-
 “ tain auspices, whether I should, while these re-
 “ ligious scruples remained, have exposed the re-
 “ public to danger, or returned to the city to con-
 “ sult the Gods anew, that I might do nothing
 “ with doubtful omens ? Lastly, tell me, pray,
 “ whether the general of horse, as if he depended
 “ neither on Gods nor men, should not have been
 “ restrained from acting by the same religious scru-
 “ ples, which hindered the dictator himself ? But
 “ why do I ask these questions, suppose I had gone
 “ away without saying a word, yet you ought to
 “ have directed your conduct according to the

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xxxii. “ intention. But why don’t you answer, did not

“ expressly forbid you to attempt any thing in my
 “ absence? Did I not forbid you to give the enemy
 “ battle? How then have you dared, while the au-
 “ spices were doubtful, and before my religious scru-
 “ ples were cleared up, to fight in contempt of my
 “ orders, in defiance of military subordination, the
 “ discipline of our forefathers and the will of the
 “ Gods? Answer these interrogatories distinctly, and
 “ beware you don’t make evasions. Come hither,
 “ lictor.” As it was no easy matter for Fabius to
 give a particular answer to these questions, he some-
 times complained, that the same person was his ac-
 cuser and judge, and sometimes cried out that he
 might deprive him of life, rather than the glory of his
 noble achievements; at last he by turns endeavored
 to vindicate himself, and then became his own accu-
 ser. In the mean time Papirius, his passion being re-
 newed afresh, ordered him to be stript, and the axes
 and rods to be got ready. Fabius implored the pro-
 tection of the soldiers, and while the lictors were
 tearing off his clothes, he took refuge among the
 triarii, who began to mutiny. Upon this the clamor
 spread throughout the whole army; in some places
 prayers, in others menaces were heard. They who
 happened to stand nearest the tribunal, as they were
 within their general’s view and could be distinguished
 by him, begged him to spare his general of horse,
 and not to condemn him. Those of the assembly
 who stood at the greatest distance, and those in the
 ring about Fabius, upbraided the dictator for his
 cruelty. They were like to break out into an open
 mutiny, nor were those round the tribunal very quiet.
 The lieutenant generals, who stood round his chair,
 intreated him to put off the execution till the next
 day, to give time to his passion to cool, and to con-
 sider the matter calmly. They represented to him
 that “ the imprudence of the young man had been
 sufficiently chastised, and the glory of his victory

“ was tarnished ; and therefore conjured him not to
 “ extend his severity so far as to inflict upon him the
 “ punishment ; not to brand a young patrician of
 “ great hopes, whose father was one of the most il-
 “ lustrious persons in the state, and the whole Fabian
 “ family, with so much infamy.” But when neither
 their prayers nor their arguments made any impression
 upon him, they desired him to cast his eyes upon the
 assembly who were all in a ferment. They in vain re-
 presented “ that it neither became his age nor his wis-
 “ dom to furnish fuel to a sedition, or blow up
 “ the fire, while the minds of the soldiers were in
 “ such a violent passion. If he should excite the
 “ whole army to revolt, by his obstinacy, no body
 “ would blame Q Fabius, who only begged him
 “ to remit his punishment, but himself, who blind-
 “ ed by resentment had brought matters to that
 “ extremity. And lastly, that he might not think
 “ they were so importunate out of any regard to the
 “ interest of Q Fabius, they were ready to take
 “ an oath, that it was not consistent with the public
 “ welfare to punish him at that juncture.”

BUT these discourses of the lieutenant generals
 rather enflamed the dictator against themselves than
 softened him in favor of Fabius. He ordered them
 to leave the tribunal. The crier attempted in vain to
 make silence, for the noise and outcries were so loud,
 that neither the dictator nor his officers could be
 heard. But night came on and put an end to the dis-
 pute, as it sometimes happens in battle. The general
 of the horse was ordered to appear next day, but as
 every body assured him, Papirius would be more en-
 flamed than ever, as he was foured and his rage en-
 creased by the opposition he had met with, he fled
 secretly out of the camp in the night and went to
 Rome. By the advice of his father M. Fabius, who
 had been thrice consul, and dictator, the senate was
 immediately assembled, and while he was complaining
 bitterly to the fathers of the violence and injustice

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of the dictator, they heard all of a sudden at the porch-gate of the house the noise of the licitor's dispersing the people. And Papirius himself followed in a great rage ; for as soon as he got notice that the criminal had left the camp, he pursued him with some light-horse. Upon this the debate was renewed, and the dictator ordered Fabius to be seized. The chief of the fathers and all the senate in a body intreated him to moderate the severity of his sentence ; but when nothing could move him to alter his cruel resolution, M. Fabius the young man's father addressed himself to Papirius thus, “ Since neither the authority of the senate, nor my age, which you intend to make childless, nor the bravery and high rank of the general of horse who was chosen by yourself, nor prayers which have often softened an enemy, and do appease the anger of the Gods, make any impression upon you, I appeal to the people and implore the protection of their tribunes. And though you refuse the judgment both of the senate and army, I now propose a judge, who alone has a power and authority superior to your dictatorship. I shall see if you will submit to an appeal to which king Tullus himself submitted.” They went directly out of the senate-house to the assembly of the people. Thither the dictator came with a few attendants, while the general of horse was guarded by all the people of distinction in Rome. Young Fabius mounted the tribune of harangues, and Papirius ordered him to be taken down. His father following him said, “ You do well in ordering us to be taken down from a place, from whence even though we were private persons, we have a right to speak.” The cause was not at first pleaded by continued harangues, for nothing except wrangling was to be heard. But at length old Fabius exalting his voice with the greatest indignation calmed the noise, whilst he burst out into the bitterest invectives against the pride and cruelty of Papirius. He said, “ he had been dictator at Rome, and no man, either ple-

beian,

“ beian, centurion, or soldier had been injured by him. But Papirius endeavored to obtain a victory and triumph over a Roman general with as much eagerness as over those of the enemy. What a vast difference was there between the moderation of the ancients, and the pride and cruelty upon which people valued themselves now-a-days. Q. Cincinnatus the dictator had inflicted no other punishment on L. Minucius the consul, whom he had rescued out of the hands of the enemy who besieged him in his camp, than degrading him from commanding as consul to the rank of lieutenant general; M. Furius Camillus, though L. Furius in contempt of his age and authority gave battle and was most shamefully defeated, not only moderated his passion so far at that time as to write nothing to his disadvantage either to the senate or people; but even after his return to Rome, when the senate gave him liberty to choose any of the military tribunes whom he pleased for his colleague, he preferred him to all the rest. The Roman people whose power was sovereign and independent, had never carried their resentment farther against those who had either through rashness or ignorance lost their armies, than to condemn them to a pecuniary fine. No general had to that day been tried for his life on account of his misconduct in war. But now, generals who had most justly deserved a triumph by defeating their enemies, were threatened with rods and axes, punishments, which ought not to be inflicted on them if they had been entirely routed by the enemy. What worse treatment could his son have suffered, if he had lost his army or been routed, put to flight and his camp taken? Could he carry his violence and resentment farther than to scourge him and cut off his head? How unbecoming is it for all the citizens to rejoice for the victory gained by Fabius, to return the Gods thanks for their assistance, and to congratulate one another upon their success; if the same Fa-

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“bius, for whose sake the temples are opened, the
 “alters smoke with sacrifices, and are covered with
 “incense and offerings, shall be stript naked and cut
 “with rods in the sight of the Roman people, cita-
 “del and capitol, of those Gods whom he hath so
 “successfully invoked in two different battles? With
 “what temper will the army, which had conquered
 “under his conduct and auspices, bear this indignity?
 “What grief will it occasion in the Roman camp,
 “and what matter of triumph to our enemies”? While he pleaded thus by way of expostulation and complaint of the dictator’s cruelty, and invoked the protection of Gods and men against him, he held his son fast in his arms and shed a flood of tears.

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FABIUS had the majesty of the senate, the favor of the people, the assistance of the tribunes and the good wishes of the army on his side. On the other hand Papirius objected, “the sacredness of
 “the Roman government, military discipline, the
 “edict of the dictator which had hitherto been re-
 “verenced as an oracle, and the orders of Manlius
 “who sacrificed his paternal affection to the public
 “interest. That L. Brutus the founder of Roman
 “liberty had done the same in the case of his two
 “sons. But now, tender parents and fond old men
 “looked with unconcern upon the contempt of ano-
 “ther man’s orders, and indulged youth in the sub-
 “version of military discipline as a matter of no
 “consequence. However he would continue fixed
 “in his resolution and remit nothing of the punish-
 “ment which he deserved, who, notwithstanding
 “the republic was embarrassed with religious scruples
 “and doubtful auspices, had fought contrary to his
 “express command. It was not in his power to
 “perpetuate the dignity of the supreme command;
 “but L. Papirius should never diminish it by the
 “least act of his own. He wished the tribunician
 “power, which is itself inviolable, would not by
 “its opposition violate the majesty of the Roman
 empire,

empire, and the people of Rome would not in his person first abolish both the dictator and the power of the dictatorship. If they did, posterity would not blame Papirius, but the tribunes and the mistaken judgment of the people. When military discipline is once infringed, the private soldier would no longer obey the centurion, the centurion the tribune, the tribune the lieutenant general, the lieutenant general the consul, nor the general of the horse the dictator: no body would reverence either the authority of the Gods or men, nor shew any regard to the orders of their generals or the auspices: the soldiers might wander up and down without furloughs and commit ravages in the territories of our allies, as in those of our enemies; forgetting their oath, and guided solely by licentiousness they might quit the service at will: leave their colors without any body to guard them, and not rendezvous when they were commanded, and never mind whether they fought by night or by day, in a favorable or disadvantageous place, with or without their generals orders. In the event they would neither repair to their colors nor keep their ranks; and the whole soldiery, instead of being directed by their oaths and inviolable rules of war, would become a mob of lawless and ungovernable banditti. Do you, tribunes of the people, charge yourselves with the guilt of these crimes to the end of the world! Expose your own heads to suffer for the crime of Q. Fabius's disobedience!"

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WHILE the tribunes stood astonished and were in greater perplexity for themselves than for him who had implored their assistance, they were delivered from that load of uneasiness by the Roman people, who with one consent prayed and intreated the dictator in the most importunate manner, to pardon the general of horse for their sake. The tribunes, observing that the people had had recourse to petitions, followed their example and besought him to forgive this

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this human frailty and youthful folly of Fabius; adding, that he had suffered punishment enough already. The young man himself likewise and his father M. Fabius, laying aside all debate, fell prostrate at the dictator's feet, and deprecated his wrath. Upon which Papirius, after commanding silence, said, "I am satisfied, Romans; military discipline hath got the victory, the majesty of empire hath prevailed, after they were both in danger of being overthrown for ever. Fabius, who fought contrary to his general's orders, is not declared innocent; but being found guilty, is pardoned at the intercession of the Roman people and their tribunes, who have not employed the authority of their office, but their prayers in his behalf. Live, Fabius, happier in having all orders of the state unanimously interesting themselves to save you, than in gaining the victory which made you so vain some days ago. Live, after having dared to commit a crime, which your own father, if he had been in L. Papirius his place, never would have pardoned. You shall be reconciled to me or not as you please. But with regard to the Roman people to whom you owe your life, you can express no greater gratitude than by making this day's work a warning to you to submit to all the lawful commands of superior magistrates, both in peace and war." After Papirius had discharged Fabius, and was come out of the court, the senate were overjoyed at what had happened, but the people in still greater transports flocked about them, and followed, on the one hand congratulating the dictator, on the other the general of horse; and it appeared to every body that the danger in which Fabius had been was no less conducive to the support of military discipline, than the lamentable death of young Manlius. It happened this year likewise, that as often as the dictator was absent from the army, the Samnites put themselves in motion. Howbeit M. Valerius the lieutenant general, who commanded the camp, had the ex-ample

ample of Fabius before his eyes, which made him dread the cruel resentment of the dictator more than the attacks of the enemy. Wherefore when some foragers fell into an ambuscade and were cut to pieces by reason of the disadvantageousness of the place, it was generally believed Valerius might have relieved them, if he had not dreaded the rigorous commands of the dictator. This likewise served to alienate the hearts of the soldiers from the dictator, who had disgusted them before, because though he had been inexorable in the case of Fabius; and refused to grant him his pardon at their earnest request, yet he had afterwards consented to it at the desire of the Roman people.

THE dictator having in the city named L. Papirius Crassus general of the horse, and strictly forbidden Fabius to exercise any part of that office, returned to the camp. But his coming was not very acceptable to his own men, nor did it strike any terror into the enemy. For, the very next day, being either ignorant that the dictator was come, or little regarding whether he was present or absent, they came up to his camp in order of battle. Howbeit so great were the abilities of this one man L. Papirius, that if the love of the soldiers had seconded the good conduct of their commander, no body doubts but the Samnites might that day have been totally subdued. For he chose the most convenient ground, drew up his troops with the utmost dexterity, and strengthened them with bodies of reserve which he disposed with all the military skill he was master of. But his men would not perform their parts, and in order to fully the glory of their general, they on purpose prevented his gaining the victory. The Samnites had many killed, and there were many wounded on the Roman side. This able general soon perceived what had obstructed his obtaining a complete victory: and was convinced, he must moderate his temper and mix mildness with his severity.

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With this view, he took with him the lieutenant generals, went about and visited the wounded men, putting his head into their tents and asking them one by one how they did, he recommended the care of them particularly to the lieutenant generals, tribunes and prefects. These kind offices were in themselves popular, and performed in such an obliging manner, that he regained their affections much sooner than their wounds could be cured. And nothing contributed more to their speedy recovery, than the grateful resentment they had of their general's care. When his troops were fit for action, he engaged the enemy; and both general and soldiers being in full hopes of victory, the Samnites were so completely routed, that they never after durst meet the dictator in the field. Then the victorious army marched whithersoever the hopes of plunder directed them; they overran the enemy's country, and found no opposition either by open force or troops lodged in ambush. The dictator likewise encouraged his soldiers, by declaring that he would grant them all the plunder, and they were prompted to take vengeance upon the enemy, as much by private interest as national resentment. The Samnites being subdued by these losses sued to the dictator for peace, which was granted them upon their agreeing to furnish each of his men a suit of clothes and a year's pay. But when they were ordered to go to Rome to obtain a ratification of the peace, they answered they would follow the dictator thither, and committed their cause entirely to his protection and goodness. Thus the Roman army was withdrawn from the country of the Samnites.

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C. Sulpicius
Longus, Q.
Æmilius
Cerre-
retanus
consuls.
Y. of R. 431.
B. J. C. 321.

THE dictator entered the city in triumph, and when he intended to have resigned his office, the senate ordered him first to nominate C. Sulpicius Longus for the second time and Q. Æmilius Cerretanus consuls. The Samnites, without concluding a peace, because the senate could not agree about

the

the terms of it, which they had still under their consideration, obtained only a truce for a year. Nor did they observe it faithfully, so strongly were their minds set upon war, after they heard that Papirius was out of his office. In the consulate of C. Sulpicius and Q. Æmilius, others say Aulus, besides the revolt of the Samnites, a new war broke out with the Apulians. Armies were sent to both places, the former fell to Sulpicius by lot, and the latter to Æmilius. Some historians say the Romans made no war upon the Apulians, but only defended the states of that nation their allies, from the violence and oppression of the Samnites. But the low condition of that people, who were scarce able at that time to defend themselves, makes it more probable, they did not attack the Apulians, but that the Romans made war upon both nations at once. After all, no remarkable action happened. The Romans ravaged Apulia and Samnium, but found the enemy in neither of them. About this time a panic happened in Rome by night, which raised the citizens out of their sleep and alarmed them to such a degree, that the capitol, the citadel, the walls and the gates were in an instant full of armed men. And though the people run together from all places crying “to arms,” yet at day-break they found neither the author nor the cause of their alarm. The same year, the inhabitants of Tusculum were tried before the Roman people, upon a bill preferred by M. Flavius the tribune, who proposed to punish them for advising and assisting the people of Velitræ and Privernum to make war upon the Romans. Upon this the inhabitants of that city came to Rome with their wives and children, and having changed their dress, went round the several tribes in the habit of suppliants, and fell prostrate at their feet. And by this means pity suggested a more effectual motive to procure their pardon, than their plea afforded arguments for ruining the credit of the impeachment. All the tribes, except the Pollian, rejected the bill. The sentence of that tribe

was,

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was, that all those who had attained to the age of fourteen should be scourged and beheaded, and their wives and children should be publicly exposed to sale by martial law. And it is certain that the Tuscans retained to the time of our fathers a lively sense of resentment against the authors of this severe sentence. And hardly a person of the Pollian tribe, who stood candidate for any office, ever used to get the votes of the ^a Papirian tribe.

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Q. Fabius,
L. Fulvius
consuls.

Y. of R. 432.
B. J. C. 320.

A. Cornelius
Arvina dic-
tator. M.
Fabius Am-
bustus gene-
ral of horse.

THE following year, in the consulate of Q. Fabius and L. Fulvius, A Cornelius Arvina dictator and M. Fabius Ambustus general of the horse, having raised the levies in a stricter manner than ordinary, for fear of a very dangerous war in Samnium, because a report had spread that the people had hired all the youth of the neighboring nations to assist them, led a gallant army against them. They pitched their camp in Samnium with as little precaution as if the enemy had been at a distance, when all of a sudden the Samnites came up with such contempt of their enemies that they carried forward their entrenchments even to the Roman advanced guard. The night coming on, prevented their making an attack upon the camp, but they threatened they would do it to morrow by day-break. When the dictator saw that he would be obliged to fight sooner than he expected, that the ground might be no disadvantage to the valor of his men, he kindled a great number of fires which he left burning, to hinder the enemy from observing his designs, and led his legions out of the camp in silence. But the Samnites were encamped so nigh, that they perceived his retreat. Their horse immediately followed the Romans close in the rear, yet they conducted their march in such a manner, as not to begin the attack, till it was day; nor were their infantry led out of their camp before that time. Then indeed their cavalry entered upon action, and by falling upon the rear guard of the Romans, and

^a The Tuscans were incorporated into the Papirian tribe and had great influence in it,

harassing them in narrow passes, retarded their march. In the mean time their foot overtook the horse, and the Romans were hard pressed by the united forces of the enemy. The dictator finding he could not continue his march without exposing his army to great loss, ordered the lines for his camp to be marked out in the place where he was; but as the enemy's cavalry were hovering about, it was impossible to come at palisades or to begin to work at the entrenchments. When he saw that he could neither go forward, nor stay where he was, he removed his baggage to some distance from the army and drew up his men in battalia. The Samnites, who were not inferior to them either in number or courage, did the same. What encreased their confidence was, their imagining that the Romans had not retired from them, on account of the disadvantage of the ground, and in this belief they had pursued them as fugitives and men terrified who durst not look them in the face. This likewise kept the balance equal for some time between the two parties, though for a long time before, the Samnites had not used to stand the first shout of the Roman army. But that day, from nine in the morning till two in the afternoon, the victory was so doubtful, that they did not renew their shout, which they set up at the first onset, the ensigns neither advanced nor retired, nor did any part of the army on either side give ground. The soldiers pushed their adversaries with their bodies and bucklers, without giving themselves time either to breathe or look behind them; the noise on both sides was equal, and they were resolved to fight it out either till they were quite weary or till night came on. Now the strength of the men began to fail, their swords were blunted and the generals were at a loss what to do, when all of a sudden the Samnite horse, getting notice from one of their squadrons which had advanced beyond the rest, that the Roman baggage lay at a distance from their army, without any guard or fortification to defend it, were prompted through a greediness

CHAP. greediness of plunder to fall upon it. When a mes-
 XXXVIII. senger came in great haste to inform the dictator of
 it; “let them, replied he, encumber themselves with
 “the plunder.” Soon after other messengers came,
 one after another, bawling out, that every thing that
 belonged to the soldiers was rifled and carried clear
 off. Upon which, he sent for the general of the
 horse and said to him, “Don’t you see, M. Fabius,
 “how the enemy’s horse have quitted the battle?
 “They are incapable to act being encumbered with
 “our baggage. Go, fall upon them: you will find
 “them dispersed, and which is always the case with
 “those who are employed in plundering, few of them
 “mounted or with weapons in their hands. Whilst
 “they are loading their horses, kill them unarmed
 “and make it a bloody booty to them. I shall take
 “care that the foot do their duty; let the glory
 “gained by the horse be yours.”

CHAP. THE Roman cavalry, drawn up in the best or-
 XXXIX. der possible, fell upon the enemy dispersed and en-
 cumbered with the plunder, and made a terrible
 slaughter of them. For the bundles, which they
 had let suddenly fall, lying in their way as they
 fled, and entangling their own feet as well as those
 of their frightened horses, they were put to the
 sword without being able either to fight or fly. M.
 Fabius having almost entirely cut off the enemy’s
 cavalry, fetched a small compass with his squa-
 drons and fell upon the rear of the Samnite infan-
 try. The sudden shout, which they set up, struck
 terror into the minds of the Samnites. At the same
 time, the dictator observed the vanguard of the
 enemy to look behind them, their ensigns in dis-
 order, and their main body wavering to and fro,
 encouraged his men, and called upon the tribunes
 and the bravest of the centurions by name, to sup-
 port him in renewing the battle. Having set up
 a shout, they advanced their standards, and the fur-
 ther they came, they saw the enemy in the greater
 confusion. Those in the front of the Roman le-
 gions

gions could now observe their own horse; and the dictator turning to the companies behind him, both made signs with his hand and called out to them, that he saw the ensigns and bucklers of their own cavalry. As soon as the troops heard and observed this, they so entirely forgot the fatigue they had endured and the wounds they had received in a battle which lasted almost the whole day, that they charged the enemy with as much vigor, as if they had but just marched fresh out of their camp and received the signal of battle. The Samnites could no longer stand the terror of the horse and the violent attack of the foot; numbers of them were cut in pieces upon the spot and the rest dispersed. Those that stood were surrounded and killed by the infantry: they that fled were cut to pieces by the cavalry, and among the rest the Samnite general himself fell. This defeat reduced the power of the Samnites so low, that in all their assemblies they observed; “it was no wonder, they had met with such bad success, seeing they had begun an impious war, contrary to the faith of treaties, and exposed themselves more to the indignation of the Gods than that of men. That this war was to be expiated and atoned for at a dear rate. And the only question was, whether it was better to shed the blood of a few criminals, or to sacrifice a whole innocent nation.” Some of them even had the boldness to name the authors of the war; among others the name of Brutulus Papius was particularly heard in every body’s mouth, above the rest. He was a man of distinction and interest in his country, and was without doubt the infringer of the late truce. The Samnite prætors being obliged to enquire into his conduct, ordered, “That Brutulus Papius should be delivered up to the Romans; and the Roman prisoners and plunder taken from them, and sent to Rome, and whatever their *feciales* had demanded, restored, according to justice and equity.” Accordingly the *feciales* were dispatched

CHAP. XXXIX. patched to Rome with the dead body of Brutulus, for he had laid violent hands on himself, in order to avoid disgrace and punishment. They thought proper likewise to deliver up his effects; but none of the things that were sent, except the prisoners and some part of the booty that the owners knew, were accepted: all the rest were offered, but it was in vain, for the Romans rejected them. The dictator obtained a triumph by order of the senate.

CHAP. XL. SOME authors write that this war was finished by the consuls, and that they triumphed over the Samnites: they add likewise that Fabius advanced into Apulia, and carried thence a rich booty. It is agreed on all hands that Cornelius was dictator that year, but it is doubted whether he was created to carry on the war, or to preside at the Roman games and to give the signal for the chariots to start at the races, in the room of L. Plautius the prætor who was greatly indisposed; and resigned the dictatorship, after he had performed that trivial office which scarce deserves mentioning. Nor is it an easy matter to prefer either one author or one account to another. For my part I suppose that the histories of these things have been corrupted by funeral orations and false inscriptions on images, every family endeavoring to ascribe to themselves the glory of performing gallant exploits, and of obtaining honors by specious but unfair representations of facts. And from hence, without doubt, arises the confusion we find in the account of the actions of particular persons and in the public records. For there is no contemporary author, upon whose authority we can rely with sufficient certainty.

End of the EIGHTH Book.

T H E

T H E
ROMAN HISTORY,
BY
TITUS LIVIUS of *Padua*.

B O O K IX.

The two consuls, Titus Veturius and Sp. Posthumius lead the Roman army into defiles at the forks of Caudium, and finding no other means of escaping, come to a composition with the Samnites, in consequence of which having delivered up six hundred knights as hostages, they bring off the rest of the army, but with the disgrace of passing under the yoke. By the advice of the same Posthumius, that the senate, to free the state from the engagement contracted in it's name, should deliver up to the enemy all who were chargeable with the blame of that ignominious agreement, the consuls, two tribunes of the people, and all who had signed the treaty delivered up to the Samnites, but not accepted. Soon after Papirius Cursor, having defeated the Samnites, makes them pass under the yoke, recovers the six hundred knights who were given as hostages, and wipes off the stain of that infamous treaty. Two tribes added to those formerly established. Appius Claudius, being censor, brings the Claudian aqueduct into the city, paves the Appian way, and enrolls the sons of some freedmen among the senators. Because the senatorian order seemed polluted by the society of such unworthy persons, the consuls appointed for next year, in making up the roll of the senators, observe the regulations of the preceding censors. The Romans after making war with good success against the Marfi, Peligni and Samnites renew the former treaties with them. Flavius the scribe the grandson of a freedman made curule ædile by the party of the city commoners. This party, because it disturbed the elections, stirred up confusion at the assemblies in the campus martius, and by reason of it's vast numbers domineered over the rest of the commons, disposed into four separate tribes by Q. Fabius, when he served as censor, and called the city tribes. This regulation procures Fabius the surname of Maximus. In this book Livy mentions Alexander the great who flourished about this time, and after making an estimate of the power of the Romans, infers from it, that if that monarch had passed into Italy he would not have made such an easy conquest of them as of the Eastern nations which he subjected to his empire.

CHAP.

I.

T. Veturius
and Sp. Post-
humius con-
suls.

Y. of R. 433.
B. J. C. 319.

THIS year was followed by the peace of Caudio, so famed for the disgrace of the Romans, which was concluded in the consulship of T. Veturius and Sp. Posthumius. Caius Pontius, the son of Herennius, was general of the Samnites that year. And as the father justly had the character of a person of consummate wisdom, so the son was one of the most considerable warriors and ablest generals of his time. This Pontius, when the ambassadors who had been sent to make restitution to the Romans returned without success in their negotiations for peace, addressed himself to his people in the following terms, “ That
“ ye may not think, said he, this embassy has been
“ altogether ineffectual, I must inform you, that
“ all the wrath of heaven which was kindled against
“ us for our breach of treaty is now quite appeased.
“ I am absolutely certain that the same Gods, who
“ have been pleased to reduce us to the necessity of
“ making the restitution demanded of us, have
“ been displeased to see the satisfaction we offered
“ so haughtily rejected by the Romans. What was
“ it possible to do more for appeasing the Gods or
“ breaking the resentment of men than we have done
“ already? We have restored the enemies goods
“ which were taken by our people, though by the
“ law of arms they seemed to be ours. Because we
“ could not give up the authors of the war alive,
“ we delivered them up dead, and that nothing
“ might remain with us, which should seem to have
“ the least connexion with their crime, we carried
“ their goods to Rome also. What further do I
“ owe thee, Roman? What further obligation am
“ I under with regard to the treaty or the Gods,
“ who were witnesses to it? What judge shall I ap-
“ peal to, to settle the extent of thy resentment, or
“ of my punishment? There is no state nor private
“ person to whom I am not willing to submit my
“ cause. But if human laws can be no protection
“ to the poor and impotent against the oppression of
“ the

“ the great and powerful, I will have recourse to
 “ the Gods, whose province it is to take vengeance
 “ upon intolerable pride, and pray that they would
 “ turn their wrath against those who are not satisfied
 “ when they have obtained restitution of their own
 “ goods with the addition of other mens. Whose
 “ cruelty is not contented with the death of the
 “ guilty, even when their bodies and after them
 “ their goods are delivered into their hands. Who
 “ will be still implacable unless we give them our
 “ blood to drink, and our bowels to be torn in
 “ pieces. War is always just, Samnites, when it be-
 “ comes unavoidable, and those who have no hope
 “ left but in their arms may employ them without of-
 “ fence to religion. Wherefore seeing in all human af-
 “ fairs it is of the greatest importance to distinguish
 “ between those things which are undertaken under
 “ the protection of the Gods, from those which can-
 “ not be carried on without their displeasure; know
 “ for certain, that as in our former war we fought
 “ against the Gods rather than men, so in this we are
 “ now engaging in we shall fight under the conduct
 “ of heaven, and be guided by it's direction.”

HAVING pronounced this prophecy, which in CHAP.
 the event proved as true as it was comfortable, he II.
 drew out his army and pitched his camp as covertly
 as possible about Caudium, and hearing that the
 Roman army under the conduct of the two consuls
 was encamped at Calatia^a, he sent ten soldiers in the
 habit of herdsmen, with orders to lead their cattle to
 different places near the Roman outguards, and
 when they should fall into the hands of their foragers
 to agree exactly in asserting that the Samnite legions
 were in Apulia, had invested Luceria^b with all their

^a Cluver takes old Calatia to have been the present Caiasso or Gaiazzo.

^b Ancient geographers place it below Teanum towards the south, not far from the Servaro, in Apulia. It is since called Necera delli Saraceni, and Lucera delli Pagani.

CHAP.

II.

forces, and were like to be soon masters of it. A report to this purpose had been industriously spread before, and by this time reached the Romans, but the testimony of the prisoners very much confirmed them in the belief of it; and this was principally owing to the agreement of their accounts, though they were separately examined. The Romans made no difficulty about assisting the people of Luceria, not only because they were their good and faithful allies, but also for fear that the dread of what they were suffering should induce all Apulia to revolt to the enemy, they only consulted about the rout they were to observe in marching to their relief. For there were two roads which led to that city, the one by the coast of the Adriatick sea, which was broad and open, but as it was the safest it was at the same time further about; the other through the forks of Caudium^a was much shorter, but the nature of that place is as follows. There are two deep and narrow passes covered over with woods, and joined together by a continued ridge of mountains on each side. Between them lies a large grassy and well watered plain, through the middle of which was the road, but before you can get at it, you must enter in at the first narrow pass, and either return back by the same way you came, or if you will proceed farther, make your way through the other pass yet more straight and unpassable than the former. The Romans having marched their army through the cavity of a rock, arrived at this plain by one of these passes, but as they advanced to the other, they found it shut up, by trunks of trees laid a cross and a heap of large stones raised against them. As this convinced them

^a Caudium was a city belonging to the Hirpini according to Pliny. But Ptolomy says it belonged to the Samnites. Cluver supposes it stood in the present Airola, and near it he places the Caudian pass near the city of St. Agatha. The Isclero runs through the middle of this pass into the Vulturinus, Holstein, on the authority

of Erchembert's history of Lombardy, and Leo of Ostia's chronicon, places Caudium on the ground where Arpaia now stands, in the *further principality*, on the confines of Terra di Lavoro. As for the pass he finds it in the way leading from Arpaia to Arienzo. This pass is near *Le Furchie*.

that their enemies had laid a snare for them, they also discovered a body of them on the top of the hill. Wherefore they marched back with all possible dispatch to the other pass at which they had entered, but this they also found barricaded with proper materials, and defended by a body of armed men. Upon this they halted without any order from their officers, and being all seized with a consternation that in a great measure deprived them of the exercise of their reason, and motion of their bodies, they stared at one another, each expecting to find in his companion a better judgment and greater wisdom than in himself. When they had stood for some time in this posture silent and without motion, observing the consuls tents pitched, and some persons making ready the instruments proper for carrying on the ordinary works, though they were sensible their attempts to fortify themselves in this desperate state of affairs, when all hopes were quite gone, would only expose them to ridicule; yet that they might not add guilt to their other misfortunes, every one without waiting for orders applied himself to his own part of the work, and by this means drew a line round their camp which lay along the water. But all this while, besides that the enemy insulted them in a most haughty manner, the soldiers themselves could not forbear acknowledging in the most moving terms, that their works were to no purpose and all their labor fruitless. The consuls oppressed with sorrow, called no council of war, because their circumstances left no room for council or debate, nor could any relief be expected from it, but the lieutenant generals and tribunes came uncalled to attend them, and the soldiers turning to the tents of their two generals, demanded assistance from them, though the immortal Gods themselves could scarce have given it.

WHILST they were lamenting their condition rather than consulting how to relieve it, the night came

CHAP. came on, during which they murmured variously
 III. according to their different tempers. “ Let us, says
 “ one, break through the barriers which shut up our
 “ way. Let us, says another, climb up the mountains,
 “ make a passage through the woods, or wherever
 “ we can carry our arms, if we can but get at the
 “ enemy whom we have been accustomed to defeat
 “ for near thirty years, all places will be plain and
 “ open to the Romans while they fight against the
 “ perfidious Samnites. But whether or by what way
 “ shall we go, says a third? Are we able to remove
 “ mountains out of their places? While these high
 “ hills are over your head, which way can you get
 “ at the enemy? Armed or unarmed, brave or
 “ cowards we are all defeated and in the power of
 “ our enemies, they will not so much as employ
 “ their swords to give us an opportunity of dying
 “ with honor, but will sit still and put an end to
 “ the war.” In such conversations they spent the
 night without thinking of refreshment or sleep. Nor
 did the Samnites know how to improve such an un-
 common flow of prosperity. Therefore they thought
 proper to dispatch letters to Herennius Pontius their
 general’s father for his advice upon this subject. This
 great man now far advanced in years had retired not
 only from all military but also civil employments.
 Yet with this body so much reduced by age, he em-
 ployed an uncommon reach of thought and strength
 of judgment, wherefore upon hearing that the Roman
 army was shut up between the two narrow passes at
 Caudium, and being consulted by the courier
 whom his son had dispatched to him, he gave it
 as his opinion, “ That they should all be sent away
 “ as soon as possible without insult or injury.” When
 this opinion was rejected and the same courier return-
 ed to consult him again, his advice was “ to put
 “ them all without exception to the sword.” These
 two contradictory opinions so much resembled the
 ambiguous responses of an oracle, that his son was
 among the most forward to suspect his father’s un-
 derstanding,

derstanding, by it's connexion with a weak and crazy body, had begun to feel the infirmities of old age. Yet he was prevailed upon by the joint solicitation of all the rest to send for him. The old man without grudging the labour is said to have been brought to the camp in a chariot, and when called into the council of war, made no alteration in the advices he had given, but only added the reasons of them. What he said upon that occasion was to this purpose, " By following his first advice, which he thought the best, they would lay the most powerful people of all Italy under a very strong obligation, and thereby establish peace with them and secure their friendship forever. By the second they might stave off a war with the Romans for several ages, for that people must be so weakened by the entire loss of two armies, that in all that time they could scarce recover their strength. And to conclude he had no third advice to give." To this his son and the other principal officers of the Samnites replied by asking, " what he would think of it if they should take a middle course, and send their enemies away safe, but at the same time, as they were a conquered army, impose upon them such terms and conditions as the law of arms would justify? That, said old Herennius, is a resolution which will neither encrease the number of your friends, nor diminish that of your enemies. Save the lives of those whom you have just before disgraced and thereby provoked to the highest pitch, and see what will be the consequence? The Romans have it in their nature never to be quiet while they have the worst, they will always keep fresh in their minds the remembrance of any indignity which their present necessity may oblige them to submit to, nor will it ever suffer them to be at rest, till they have a severe revenge upon you."

CHAP.
IV.

AS neither of these advices was accepted, Herennius was carried home from the camp. And the Romans having made several fruitless attempts to break their prison, as they began to be straitned in their camp for want of all provisions, submitted at last to necessity, and sent a deputation to the Samnites to sue for peace upon reasonable terms, or if that should be refused “to offer them battle.” To this Pontius answered “That the war was at an end, and seeing
 “even when they were conquered, and made prisoners, they could not prevail on themselves to acknowledge their condition, he would strip them of their arms and make them pass under the yoke with one garment apiece. As to other conditions of peace he would put the conquerors and conquered upon a level, and only insist that all the lands of the Samnites should be restored, the Roman colonies withdrawn, and both nations henceforth live under their own laws and independent of one another. Upon those terms he was ready to enter into a treaty with the consuls, but if they should not approve of them, he charged the deputies to return to him no more.” When the ambassadors reported this answer the whole army on a sudden fetched such groans, and was so oppressed with sorrow, that it could not be thought they would have been more afflicted, if they had got information, that they were all to suffer death in that place. After they had all been silent for a long time, as the consuls could say nothing in favor of a treaty so disgraceful, or against one which seemed so necessary, L. Lentulus, whose valor, as well as the dignities he had born set him at the head of all the lieutenant generals in the army, spoke to this effect, “I have often, consuls, said he, heard my father say, that he was the only person who advised the senate not to redeem the capitol out of the hands of the Gauls by a sum of money; because their enemies, who were of all men the most ignorant and unex-
 “periencced

“ perience in matters of fortification, had not shut
“ them up with a moat and a rampart, and they had
“ access to fall out and force their way through the
“ besiegers, if not without great danger, yet at least
“ without exposing themselves to certain and infalli-
“ ble ruin. Could we now but have an opportunity
“ of engaging the enemy, either on equal or disad-
“ vantageous ground, as our ancestors could have
“ sallied out of the capitol upon their enemy, and
“ the besieged in many cases have certainly done
“ upon their assailants, I should in giving my advice
“ satisfy you that I have a good share of my father’s
“ spirit. I acknowledge, indeed, ’tis glorious to
“ die for ones country, and for my own part I am
“ ready to devote myself for the Roman people and
“ their legions, or to rush into the midst of the
“ enemy. But I see my country here, the Roman
“ legions are all here, and unless they will throw
“ away their lives for their own sakes, what is it they
“ can save by their death. Will any person say,
“ that they may thus save the walls of the city,
“ the houses and the crowd of people who inhabit
“ them, so far from it that instead of being saved by
“ the ruin of this army, they must all be effectually
“ betrayed into the hands of the enemy. For who
“ pray will save them? Will it be a weak defence-
“ less mob without arms in their hands, they will no
“ doubt save them with the same success they had
“ in protecting them against the attack of the Gauls.
“ Or will they call their army from Veii, or prevail
“ with Camillus to take the command? No surely,
“ all our hope and strength is here, in preserving
“ them we save our country, and giving them up
“ to destruction we desert and betray it. But it will
“ be shameful to surrender ourselves. I grant it,
“ but our love to our country ought to be such as
“ should determine us not only to suffer ignominy
“ but even death, if it is necessary, to save it. Let
“ us therefore consent to bear this indignity, however
“ great, and submit to necessity, which the Gods them-
“ selves

“ selves cannot controul. Go then, Consuls, and re-
 “ deem, at the expence of your arms, that statu-
 “ which your ancestors ransomed by their gold.”

CHAP.

v.



THE consuls upon this went to have an interview with Pontius, and then the conqueror began to speak of a treaty ; they said they could make no treaty without the approbation of the Roman people, nor without the feciales and the other usual ceremonies. Whence it appears that the peace of Caudium was not concluded by treaty, as it is commonly thought, and Claudius the historian has wrote, but by a promissory engagement. For what occasion could there be for persons to engage themselves by promise, or for hostages in a treaty, where the whole affair is concluded by this prayer, “ That Jupiter
 “ would so strike the people by whose means the
 “ terms agreed upon shall be violated, as the fecialis
 “ strikes the hog which is offered as a victim ^a.” The consuls, lieutenant generals, questors and legionary tribunes signed the convention, and their names are still extant ; whereas if it had been a treaty, there would have been no names on record but those of the two feciales. And because the treaty was necessarily delayed for some time, Pontius demanded six hundred hostages, whose heads should be cut off if the convention was not strictly observed. After this a time was fixed for delivering the hostages, disarming the troops, and making them pass under the yoke. The return of the consuls renewed the lamentations in the camp, and raised the indignation of the soldiers to such a pitch, that it was with difficulty they could abstain from laying violent hands on those by whose rash conduct they had come into the fatal place, and by whose cowardice they were like to leave it with greater disgrace than they came. Who had not employed a guide to direct them in the way, nor sent out spies to discover the motions of the enemy, but like wild beasts had

^a See Vol. I. book I. chap. xxiv.

“ blindly

blindly hurried themselves and their army into the pit. They stared at one another, looked at the arms they were to deliver up, their right hands which were on the point of being defenceless, and their bodies which were soon to be exposed to the mercy of the enemy. They set before their eyes the yoke which the enemy was to cause them to pass under, the scorn and insults of the conqueror, his haughty and disdainful looks, and how they should march disarmed through the armed battalions of the Samnites. What a pitiful spectacle their ignominious army would be in its march from that fatal place through the states of their allies, to their country and relations, who had often seen them and their ancestors return victorious and in triumph. To conclude, they reflected that they were the only persons who had been conquered without wounds, dint of weapon, or engaging in battle, who had not access to draw their swords or try their strength with the enemy, and whose courage, strength and arms had been all bestowed in vain. Whilst they lamented these things, the fatal hour approached, which was to make all their sufferings more severe in experience than they had imagined before hand. First they were ordered to come out of their lines stripped of their arms and all their clothes to their under garments; then the hostages were received and carried to prison. Next the lictors were ordered to depart from the consuls, and their military cloaks taken from them, which raised the compassion of the spectators to such a pitch, that those who but a little before had been loading them with imprecations, and declared for delivering them up to the enemy, and tearing them in pieces, now forgetting their own wretched condition, could not bear to see so much majesty so shamefully disfigured, and therefore turned away their eyes from it as from a shocking and unlawful spectacle.

THE consuls almost half naked, were first made to pass under the yoke, after them the commanding officers

CHAP.

VI.

officers according to their rank, and last of all the legions one after another. All this time the Samnites in their arms stood round and ridiculed and insulted them as they passed. They also presented their swords in a threatening manner to most of them. Some were wounded and others killed on the spot, who happened to affront the conqueror, by returning a fierce look in resentment of the indignities they suffered. Thus they were made to pass under the yoke, and, which was in some respect yet more grievous in the sight of their enemies, when they had got quite out of the narrow pass, though they considered themselves as men newly brought out of the infernal regions who begin to see the light of day, yet that very light which discovered to them the disgraceful appearance of their army, was more intolerable than the most frightful kind of darkness. Therefore though they could have reached Capua before night, yet as they were ashamed to be seen in these circumstances, and had not absolute confidence in their allies, they laid themselves on the ground about the road at a small distance from that city, and resolved to pass the night there though in great want of all necessaries. As soon as the accounts of this reached Capua, a generous compassion to their distressed allies got the better of the innate haughtiness of the Campanians. Therefore they immediately sent to the consuls fasces and lictors with the other ensigns of their dignity, and to the soldiers arms, horses, clothes, and provisions in great plenty. And when they came near the city, the senate and people went out to meet them, and both in public and private performed all the kind offices that friendship and hospitality could require. Yet neither the caresses of their allies, nor the sympathy they expressed by their kind looks and encouraging expressions, could prevail with them to speak a word, or even so much as lift up their eyes from the ground and look upon their friends, who did all in their power to comfort them. So much did sorrow and a kind of shame

and

and confusion determine them to avoid the conver-
 sation and company of men. Next day the young noblemen,
 who had been sent to attend them to the frontiers of
 the state, returned, and being called into the senate
 and examined by the oldest senators, answered,
 “ that the Romans marched along in such profound
 “ silence as if they had almost quite lost the use of
 “ speech ; that it seemed to them they were more
 “ and more damped and oppressed with melancholy.
 “ Adding, that the Roman spirit had entirely dis-
 “ appeared, and they had lost their courage together
 “ with their arms ; they could not return a salutation
 “ nor answer to those who spoke to them ; none of
 “ them could so much as open their mouths for
 “ fear, as if the yoke they had passed under were
 “ still upon their necks. The Samnites had obtain-
 “ ed not only a notable, but also an eternal victory
 “ over them ; for they had not taken Rome as the
 “ Gauls had formerly done, but which was a more
 “ important exploit in war, the valor and courage of
 “ the Romans.”

CHAP.

VI.

WHILST these things were said and heard
 with attention, and those faithful allies in their coun-
 cil of state were lamenting the Roman name as al-
 most quite lost and undone ; it is reported that Ofi-
 lius Calavius, the son of Ovius, a man renowned
 for his high birth and glorious achievements, and
 at that time venerable for his years, said “ matters
 “ were quite otherwise than they apprehended, for
 “ that obstinate silence, those eyes fixed on the
 “ ground, ears deaf to all comfort, and shame to
 “ behold the light, were indications of the vast
 “ load of wrath which boiled in their breasts, and
 “ either he was quite unacquainted with the nature
 “ of the Romans, or that silence of theirs would
 “ soon draw lamentable cries and pitiful groans from
 “ the Samnites, and the remembrance of the peace
 “ of Caudium would be more bitter to them
 “ than the Romans. For upon seeing their ene-
 “ mies, wherever they should happen to meet them,
 “ every

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VII.

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“ every one of them would recover his courage, but
 “ the Samnites would not find the streights of Cau-
 “ dium in every place.” By this time the sad ac-
 counts of this shameful disaster had reached Rome,
 at first they heard their army was enclosed by their
 enemies, but soon after a courier arrived with ac-
 counts of this ignominious peace, which gave great-
 er concern than those of the danger to which they
 were exposed. Upon the news that their camp was
 blockaded, they had begun to make the levies, but
 all preparations for sending them relief were given
 up, as soon as they found they had so shamefully
 surrendered themselves to the Samnites; immediately
 the citizens without orders from the state put on the
 deepest mourning, the shops about the forum were
 shut up, a vacation took place in all the courts of
 justice there, before it was proclaimed by lawful au-
 thority, the purple robes and gold rings were laid
 aside, and the city was, if possible, more dejected
 than the army itself. Nor were the people offended
 at the generals only, or those who had advised them
 to treat and stood surety for the performance of the
 articles, but expressed their indignation even against
 the guiltless soldiers, and said they ought not to be
 received into the city, or admitted to enter their
 own houses. But this ferment in their minds was al-
 layed by the approach of the army, which excited
 the pity even of those who were most exasperated
 against them. For they did not enter the town with
 the air of persons returning to their country after an
 unexpected deliverance, but late at night with the
 looks and deportment of captives, and so shut them-
 selves up in their houses, that the next and following
 days, none of them would come abroad or present
 themselves in the forum. The consuls confining them-
 selves at home, exerted no act of authority belong-
 ing to their office, but one which was wrested from
 them by an order of the senate, whereby they found
 themselves obliged to nominate a dictator for hold-
 ing the comitia. The person they pitched upon was
 Q. Fabius Ambustus, and P. Ælius Pætus was creat-
 ed

Q. Fabius
 Ambustus
 dictator,
 and P. Æ-
 milius Pæ-
 tus general
 of horse.

M. Æmilius Papus dictator, and L. Valerius Flaccus general of horse.
L. Papirius Cursor, M. Publilius Philo consuls, Y. of R. 434. B. J. C. 318.

ed general of the horse ; but as there was a necessary formality omitted in their election, M. Æmilius Papus, and L. Valerius Flaccus were chosen dictator and general of the horse in their room. Nor did they hold the comitia, so that the people being disgusted at all the magistrates of that year, the government returned to an interregnum. Q. Valerius Maximus, and M. Valerius Corvus served successively in the office of interrex, and the latter raised to the consulship M. Publilius Philo, and L. Papirius Cursor for the second time. Nor is it to be questioned, but in this he had the universal approbation of the state, as they were the two most renowned generals of the age.

AS it was the senate's pleasure, that they should begin their administration on the very day of their election, after having performed the ordinary ceremonies, they made a motion concerning the peace of Caudium, and Publilius, whose turn it was to have the fasces, said, " Sp. Posthumius, give us your sentiments " Upon which Posthumius rose up with the same air of dejection, wherewith he had passed under the yoke, and spoke thus, " I am very sensible, consuls, that I am first called up, not with a view to do me honor, but to cover me with confusion, and that I am not asked to give my sentiments as a senator, but as a person impeached and ordered to answer for an unsuccessful war, and an ignominious peace. Yet seeing you have made no proposition concerning our crime or punishment, I shall, without pretending to make any defence, which it would not be a very hard matter to do before judges, who are not ignorant of the uncertainty of human affairs and the necessities to which they may be exposed, in a few words give my judgment of the affair you have mentioned, which will discover whether I intended to spare myself, or save your legions when I laid myself under the obligation of that convention,

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VIII.



“ whether you consider it as a disgraceful or a neces-
 “ sary one. But whatever name you give it, see-
 “ ing it was made without the consent of the
 “ people, the Romans are under no obligation to
 “ observe it. Nor is any thing due to the Sam-
 “ nites by virtue of it, except our persons. Let
 “ us then be delivered up to them naked and in
 “ chains, and thereby relieve the people of their
 “ scruples, if our conduct has suggested any, that no
 “ right, human or divine, may stand in the way of
 “ our beginning afresh, and prosecuting a just and
 “ righteous war. Mean time it is my opinion, that
 “ the consuls should raise an army and take the field,
 “ but not enter the enemies country till every thing
 “ requisite for surrendering us into their hands be
 “ completed. To you, O immortal Gods, I make
 “ this hearty and earnest prayer, That if it was not
 “ your sacred will that the consuls Sp. Posthumius
 “ and T. Viturius should carry on a successful war
 “ against the Samnites, you would at least be satisfied
 “ with seeing us passing under their yoke, and sub-
 “ mitting to an infamous engagement, viewing us
 “ delivered up naked and in chains, and willingly sub-
 “ mitting our own heads to the severest rage of the
 “ enemy. And grant that the new consuls may
 “ carry on the war against the Samnites with the
 “ same success which has always attended the Ro-
 “ man arms, till the time of our unhappy consul-
 “ ship.” This speech so much engaged the admi-
 ration, and excited the compassion of all men, that
 sometimes they would scarce believe he was the same
 Posthumius who had agreed to such a disgraceful
 peace, and sometimes express’d their concern that so
 great a man should be exposed to the severest pu-
 nishment the Samnites could inflict in resentment
 of the breach of the convention. But when all
 extolled him with just praises and came readily into
 his opinion, the two tribunes of the people L. Li-
 vius and Q. Mælius endeavored for a little to in-
 terpose

terpose and prevent the passing of the bill, alledging that “the people could never be freed from the obligation of the convention by delivering them up to the Samnites, unless all things were put in the same condition they were in at Caudium, nor had they deserved any kind of punishment for becoming sureties in an engagement which had saved the Roman army, and even suppose matters should be carried to the greatest extremity, as their persons were sacred, they could not be violated or delivered up to the enemy.”

UPON this Posthumius replied, “Mean time deliver up us who are but profane persons, which you can do without violating the rules of religion, and you’ll afterwards find an opportunity to deliver up these sacred tribunes when their office is expired. But if you will be directed by me before you give them up, let them be first whip’d with rods here in the comitium as a kind of interest for the delay of their punishment. For who is so much unacquainted with the laws of the *feciales* as not to see, that they pretend the people cannot be discharged from the obligation of this contract, more to save themselves from being delivered up, than from a persuasion that it is so in reality. Yet, conscript fathers, I do not refuse that engagements of this nature are as sacred as treaties, with those, who next to the honor due to the Gods, have a regard to justice between man and man; but I say that no engagement can bind the people which is contracted without their order. Supposing the Samnites had by the same haughtiness, wherewith they extorted from us this engagement, obliged us to pronounce the expressions commonly used in surrendering cities, would the tribunes pretend that this city, its temples, chapels, dominions and rivers were the property of the Samnites? But not to insist

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IX.


“ upon a surrender, seeing we are speaking of a
 “ promise. What, pray, would have been the
 “ consequence, if we had promised that the Ro-
 “ man people should abandon this city or set it on
 “ fire, if we had promised that they should have
 “ no more magistrates or senate, or that they should
 “ submit to regal government? God forbid, you’ll
 “ say! But the extravagance of the thing promised
 “ does not take away the force of the engagement.
 “ If the people can be brought under an obligation
 “ in any instance of this kind, they can in every sup-
 “ posable case; and whatever some may think, it
 “ signifies nothing whether a dictator, consul, or
 “ prætor enters into the engagement. Even the
 “ Samnites were of that opinion, and therefore were
 “ not satisfied with the consuls, but obliged the
 “ lieutenant generals, quæstors and legionary tri-
 “ bunes to enter into the engagement. Nor needs
 “ any one ask me why I entered into this contract,
 “ since it is certain, that as consul I had not power
 “ to promise them a peace which I could not give,
 “ nor in your name who had given me no commis-
 “ sion. Believe me, conscript fathers, nothing was
 “ transacted at Caudium by human wisdom. The
 “ immortal Gods bereaved not only your generals
 “ but also those of your enemies of their reason.
 “ We were not cautious in carrying on the war,
 “ and they foolishly lost a victory which they had
 “ not fairly obtained, as they would not trust the
 “ places which had given them the advantage,
 “ and were fond upon any terms to pull the arms
 “ out of the hands of a people whom nature de-
 “ signed for war. Had they been in the exercise of
 “ their reason, was it a hard matter for them, when
 “ they had time to send for old men to give their
 “ advice, to dispatch ambassadors to Rome to ne-
 “ gotiate a treaty of peace with the senate and peo-
 “ ple? An expeditious courier might have travel-
 “ led all the way in three days, and in the mean
 time


“ time they might have had a truce till the deputies
“ had brought them accounts, either of a certain vic-
“ tory or an advantageous peace. It would have been
“ a valid engagement into which we should have
“ entered by the people’s order. But you would
“ never have suffered it, nor would we have engag-
“ ed; neither could the affair end otherwise, than on
“ their being idly deluded with a golden dream
“ which over-powered their weak minds, our armies
“ escaping by means of the same fortune that had
“ involved them in difficulties, the disappointment
“ of an imaginary victory by a still more precarious
“ peace, and the interposition of an engagement
“ which was binding upon none but those who had
“ contracted it. For what contract was there made
“ with you, conscript fathers, or with the people?
“ Who can sue you, or pretend they have been im-
“ posed upon by your means? Shall it be your ene-
“ mies or your fellow citizens? Your enemies can-
“ not, because you have come under no engagement
“ to them; nor your fellow citizens, because you
“ never empowered them to promise any thing in
“ your name. You have therefore no concern with
“ us, to whom you gave no powers, nor with the
“ Samnites, with whom you have entered into
“ no contract. We are sureties to the Samnites,
“ quite sufficient as far as our property extends, and
“ ready to perform all that is in our power; that
“ is, to deliver up our persons into their hands.
“ Let them put those to the severest tortures, whet
“ their swords, and vent their most implacable rage.
“ With regard to the tribunes of the people, con-
“ sult among yourselves, whether you can deliver
“ them up just now, or must delay it to another
“ time. Let you and I, T. Veturius, and the rest
“ of us present our ignoble lives to suffer for the
“ engagement we have contracted, and by our pu-
“ nishment set the Roman arms at liberty.”

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X.

THIS motion and the person who made it very much affected the conscript fathers, nor did it make an impression upon the rest only, but also on the tribunes of the people, insomuch that they declared they would subject themselves to the authority of the senate, and having immediately demitted their office, were together with the rest delivered to the *feciales* to be carried to Caudium. As soon as this act passed in the senate, an unusual light seemed to shine upon the state. Every one spoke with approbation of Posthumius, they exalted him to the skies with their praises, and thought his conduct on this occasion equal to that of P. Decius the consul, who devoted himself to death for his country, and the renowned exploits of other Roman heroes. “The state, they said, had got rid of a disgraceful treaty by his example and advice, he exposed himself to the tortures and rage of the enemy, and offered himself as a victim for the Roman people.” And now the thoughts of all were fixed upon war and arms. They impatiently wished for an opportunity of meeting the Samnites in the field, and as the whole city was enflamed with resentment and rage, almost all that were lifted to recruit the army were volunteers. Some new legions were also raised out of those which served in the late expedition, and the army marched to Caudium. The *feciales* who went before them, as soon as they came to the gate, ordered the clothes to be pulled off those who had stood sureties for the peace, and their hands to be bound behind their backs. And when the officer, out of respect to the dignity of Posthumius, bound him slackly, he said, “Why do not you pull the rope, that our surrender may be liable to no exception”? Afterwards when they came into the assembly of the Samnites, and before the tribunal of Pontius, A. Cornelius Arvina, the *fecialis*, spoke thus, “Seeing these men have, without the order of the Roman people, engaged that a treaty of peace shall be concluded between
“ that

“ that state and you, and have thereby been guilty CHAP.
 “ of a great misdemeanor, therefore, that the Ro- X.
 “ mans may be entirely exempted from their guilt, 
 “ I deliver their persons into your hands.” While
 he spoke thus, Posthumius struck his knee against
 his thigh, with all the force he could, and said, with
 a loud voice, “ That as himself was now a citizen
 “ of Samnium and the other an ambassador, he
 “ had contrary to the law of nations offered violence
 “ to a *fecialis*, which would contribute to make the
 “ war the juster on the part of the Romans.

T O this Pontius replied, “ I will neither accept CHAP.
 “ of the surrender you have now made, nor will XI.
 “ the Samnites ratify it. Why don’t you, Sp. 
 “ Posthumius, if you believe there are Gods at all,
 “ either declare all that has been done void, or
 “ abide by your agreement ? The Samnites have a
 “ right to all who were once in their power, or to a
 “ treaty of peace in their stead. But why should
 “ I call upon you, who, as you were taken prisoner,
 “ surrender yourself to the conqueror with all the
 “ integrity you are master of ? I call upon the Ro-
 “ man people. Let them, if they repent of the con-
 “ vention made at the forks of Caudium, put their
 “ legions again into the forest wherein they were
 “ invested by our troops. Let none of us deceive
 “ another, but all be void that has been hitherto
 “ done : let them have their arms, which they de-
 “ livered up in consequence of this convention, and
 “ return to their camp. Let them be put in posses-
 “ sion of every thing they were masters of the day
 “ before our interview, and then let them chuse
 “ war and resolute measures, and reject their engage-
 “ ments and the treaty of peace. Let us carry on
 “ the war in the same condition and in the same place
 “ we were in, before this peace was talked of, and
 “ neither the Romans blame the engagements en-
 “ tered into by their consuls, nor we complain of
 “ their integrity. Will ye never want a pretence
 C c 4 for

HAP. XI.  for not abiding by the engagements you entered into when you are defeated? You gave hostages to Perenna, and stole them away again: You redeemed your city from the Gauls by a sum of money, and flew them while you were pretending to make payment of it. You made a peace with us on condition we should restore your legions: this peace you now reject, and still you veil your frauds with some specious pretext of law. Are not the Romans satisfied that their army was saved by an inglorious peace? Let them take this peace to themselves, and restore the legions to the conqueror. Was it agreeable to the principles of integrity, the sacredness of treaties, or the solemn rites of the *feciales*, that by this convention you should have what you desired, and get so many of your citizens preserved, and I be defrauded of the peace which I made, when I restored them to my enemy? Is this, A. Cornelius and you the rest of the *feciales*, what you call a part of the law of nations? For my part, I will not accept of those whom you pretend to deliver up, nor do I consider them as surrendered at all, or hinder them from returning to the city, which by their promise they have laid under an engagement, with the displeasure of all the Gods, whose name is mocked and insulted by this conduct. Go and make war upon us, because Sp. Posthumius has just now struck with his knee one of your *feciales* who is vested with the character of an ambassador. It is very likely the Gods will believe that this Posthumius is a citizen of Samnium and not of Rome, that one of the Samnites has offered violence to a Roman ambassador, and you have thereby acquired a just title to make war upon us. Are you not ashamed to advance pretences that are such direct insults upon religion, and must old men of consular dignity, to cover a breach of faith, study to invent quibbles that are unworthy of children? Go, *lictor*, take the chains

“ off

“ off the Romans, let none of them be hindered CHAP.
 “ to go where they please.” Thus the sureties, XI.
 without suffering violence, returned from Caudium
 to the Roman camp, after they had without dispute
 freed themselves from the obligation of their pro-
 mise, and perhaps freed the whole state.

THE Samnites on the other hand, instead of CHAP.
 haughtily imposing terms of peace upon their neigh- XII.
 bors, finding the war renewed with the greatest se-
 verity, not only apprehended all the events that af-
 terwards happened in consequence of it, but also in some
 measure saw them as it were before their eyes, and
 when it was too late and to no purpose, commended
 both the advices of old Pontius, regretting that they,
 by taking a middle course, had exchanged a certain
 victory for a precarious peace, and having lost the
 opportunity of doing good or harm, must carry on a
 war with those enemies whom they might have ruin-
 ed once for all, or made their friends for ever. And
 though the strength of the contending parties had
 not been impaired by any disadvantage sustained in the
 field, the temper of their minds was so changed since
 the peace of Caudium, that Posthumius acquired more
 renown among the Romans by surrendering himself to
 the enemy, than Pontius had among the Samnites,
 by gaining a complete victory without the expence of
 blood. The Romans also thought their being at liber-
 ty to renew hostilities was a sure pledge of victory, and
 the Samnites were persuaded that their enemies, by
 renewing the war, had as good as secured the con-
 quest. Mean time the people of Satricum revolted
 to the Samnites, and the colony at Fregellæ was
 surprized in the night by the sudden approach of the
 Samnites, who were certainly aided by the inhabi-
 tants of Satricum in this enterprize. Fear kept both
 parties quiet till day-break, when they came to close
 engagement. The people of Fregellæ, as they
 were fighting for their Gods and their country, and
 assisted by a great number of people, who though
 unable

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XII.



unable to bear arms annoyed the enemy from the tops of the houses, kept their ground for some time; but soon after an artful stratagem made the victory incline to the enemies side, for they suffered a crier to proclaim, that all should be spared who would lay down their arms. The hopes of this abated the courage of the Fregellani in battle, and in every place they began to throw down their weapons. Yet the most resolute part of them sallied out at the back gate armed as they were. and found more safety in their courage than the rest in their cowardice, which disposed them to confide in the enemies proclamation; for while they in vain called upon the protection of the Gods, the Samnites set fire round them, and burnt them all to death. The two consuls having shared the provinces between them, Papirius marched to Luceria in Apulia, where the Roman knights, who had been delivered up as hostages at Caudium, were held in custody, and Publius posted himself at Samnium to make head against the Caudine legions. By this means the Samnites were distracted in their counsels, for they durst not march to Luceria lest the enemy should come behind them and attack their rear, nor continue where they were for fear they should in the mean time lose Luceria. Wherefore they thought it was their best course to run the hazard of a battle with Publius, and accordingly brought their army to the field.

CHAP.

XIII.



THE consul Publius having resolved to give them battle, thought he ought first to address his troops, and therefore ordered an assembly to be called, but they repaired to his tent with such cheerfulness, that the general's harangue could not be heard for the clamor, wherewith they demanded to be led to the field. As they all remembered their late disgrace, their own thoughts suggested proper exhortations. So that they marched up pressing forward their standard-bearers, and that they might not lose time in throwing their javelins and drawing their

their swords after the action should be begun, as if a general signal had been given for that purpose, they threw down their missile weapons, drew their swords, and run furiously towards the foe. There was no occasion for the general's shewing his skill in disposing the ranks or posting bodies of reserve, the rage of the soldiers performed every thing with a hurry and forwardness that looked like distraction. By this means the enemy was not only defeated, but not daring to halt at their camp, they dispersed and fled to Apulia, where they united again into one body and marched to Luceria. The same rage that had spirited the Romans to break through the enemies line of battle, hurried them also to their camp, where there was more execution done than in the battle, and the greatest part of the booty was rendered useless by the rage of the soldiers. The other army under the conduct of the consul Papirius, had by this time marched along the sea coast as far as Arpi^a without opposition, which was more owing to the oppression of the Samnites, and the peoples disaffection to them, than any obligation they were under to the Romans. For the Samnites, who at that time lived in villages on the mountains, despising, in respect of their own unpolished roughness, the inhabitants of the sea coasts and champaign country as enervated, and in their manners resembling the nature of the soil where they dwelt, plundered that whole country, which if it had continued firmly attached to their interest, either the Roman army could never have got so far as Arpi, or if they had, they must have been quite cut off from all provisions between Rome and that place, and therefore been ruined by famine. Even when they marched from Arpi to Luceria, they were as much distressed for want of provisions as the Samnites who were blocked up therein. For they had no supplies of this kind but what came from Arpi, and that in such small quantities, that while the other troops were upon duty and raising works, the horse brought them corn in

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XIII.

^a On the banks of the Cervaro, six miles from Foggia. It is now call'd *Arpe*.
small

CHAP. XIII. small bags from that place, and sometimes when they met with enemies, were obliged to throw down their corn bags and fight their way, whilst the besieged, before the other consul came up with his victorious army, had provisions and succors sent them from the mountains of the Samnites. But after Publilius came they were much more straitned than before, for he, committing the management of the siege to his colleague, marched up and down the country cutting off their convoys and entirely prevented further supplies. So that there being no ground to hope that the besieged could stand the famine any longer, the Samnites, who were encamped at Luceria, were obliged to draw all their troops together and give Papirius battle.

CHAP. XIV. ABOUT this time, when both armies were preparing for battle, embassadors came from the Tarentines, insisting that both Romans and Samnites should agree to put an end to the war, and intimating at the same time that they would declare against the party which should occasion the rejecting of peaceable measures, and join their enemies. Papirius upon hearing these demands, as if they had made some impression upon him, answered, that he would advise with his colleague; and accordingly having sent for him, he spent all the time intervening in making preparations, and then after communicating his fixed resolution to him, gave the signal for battle. Whilst the consuls were performing those duties with regard to Gods and men, which are customary before an engagement, the Tarentine embassadors met them to receive their answer; upon which Papirius said, “the diviner has told us, Tarentines, “that the auspices are favorable, we have offered sacrifice with extraordinary success, wherefore we are, “as you see, marching to battle under the direction “and conduct of the Gods.” With these words he ordered the standards to move forward and drew out his army, expressing his contempt of a nation so extra-

extravagantly vain, that though they were not able to manage their own affairs on account of the factions and divisions which prevailed among them, fondly imagined they had a right to prescribe terms of war and peace to their neighbors. The Samnites on the other hand, either because they were truly fond of peace ; or it was their interest to pretend it, that they might draw the Tarentines over to their side, having neglected all preparations for battle, no sooner observed the Romans drawn up in order, than they called out “ that they would continue under the protection of the Tarentines, and therefore would neither advance to the field nor carry their arms beyond their lines. If they should be disappointed in their expectations, they would suffer the greatest hardships rather than seem to reject the mediation of the Tarentines.” We accept of the omen, said the consuls, and wish our enemies may be so far possessed with these sentiments as not to defend even their lines.” Upon this they divided their troops between them and advanced to the enemies works which they attacked on all sides at once. Some filled up the trenches, others pulled down the palisades and threw them into the ditch, and as they were not only excited by their native courage, but also fired with indignation at the indignities they had suffered, they vigorously assaulted the camp, and all the while bawled out, “ that the Samnites would find they had not to do with the forks and impracticable forests of Caudium, where fraud had made an insolent improvement of a victory entirely owing to a mistake, but with the Roman valor which could not be repulsed by lines and trenches.” With that they cut to pieces those that fought and those that fled, those that had arms, and those that had none, slaves and freemen, children and grown persons, men and beasts, without distinction. Nor would they have left one surviving creature, if the consuls had not ordered a retreat to be sounded, and by

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XIV.

by authority and threats obliged the foldiers, how ever fond of blood and flaughter, to leave the ene my's camp. As the troops were provoked that they should be interrupted while they were keen in fatif ying the sweet passion of revenge, they were im mediately harangued, to convince them, “ That the
 “ consuls did not, nor ever would come short o
 “ them in averfion to their enemies ; and as they
 “ had led them to the battle, fo they would have
 “ fatified them by their example that they woul
 “ have been as unfatiable as they in their revenge
 “ if their hands had not been bound up by a due re
 “ gard to thofe fix hundred knights who were de
 “ tained as hoftages at Luceria, for fear that, despair
 “ ing of quarter, the enemy should, in the in
 “ confiderate heat of their rage, put them to
 “ death, that they might have the pleasure of mak
 “ ing havock among their foes before they should
 “ be cut off themselves.” Upon this the foldiers commended their generals, rejoiced that their fury had been ftop'd in it's courfe, and owned that they had rather fuffer all extremities than betray the lives of fo great a number of the flower of the Roman youth.

CHAP.
XV.

A S foon as that affembly was difmiffed, the ge nerals confulted together, whether they should prel Luceria with all their forces at once, or one of them should march with an army through Apulia to foun the inclinations of that people, whose affection to them they had reason to fufpect. Upon this Pul lilius the conful having put himfelf upon his march to make a tour through Apulia, in one expedition fub dued feveral nations, and admitted others into allian ce with the republic of Rome. Papirius ftaid behind to carry on the fiege of Luceria, and in a fhort time had fuccefs answerable to his hopes. For having guarded all the paffages by which the garifon of Luceria could have relief from Samnium, the Sam nites who were pen'd up in that city were

duc

duced by famine to send ambassadors to the Roman consul, proposing, “ that upon their surrendering to him the knights who had been the occasion of the war, he would raise the siege.” To this proposition Papirius answered “ That as Pontius the son of Herennius was the person who had advised them to make the Roman army pass under their yoke, they ought to have consulted him with regard to the terms to which the conquered should submit. But as they would rather chuse that their enemies should pronounce a just sentence against them than they should pass it upon themselves, he bid them inform the Lucerians, they must leave in the city their arms and baggage, their sumpter horses with all those persons whose weakness exempted them from serving in the war, and that he would have all the soldiers striped to their inner garment, and in that condition made to pass under the yoke, whereby he did not intend to do them any new injury, but to make reprisals for those they had done the Romans.” None of these terms were rejected, accordingly seven thousand soldiers were made to pass under the yoke, and the Romans found an exceeding great booty in Luceria, besides recovering all their standards and arms which they had lost at Caudium. But what gave them far the greatest satisfaction was the recovery of the Roman knights whom the Samnites had put into custody at Luceria, and reserved as pledges for the performance of the articles of peace. All these things considered, the Romans scarce ever gained a victory more glorious than this, which occasioned so sudden and such a considerable revolution in their affairs, especially since, as I find it recorded in some annals, to make a complete atonement for the indignity the consuls had suffered, Pontius the son of Herennius, the Samnite general, was made to pass under the yoke with the rest. But it is no great wonder we are left in the dark concerning the circumstance of delivering up this general of the enemies army, and his passing under

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L. Papirius
and Q. Au-
lius consuls.
Y. of R. 435.
B. J. C. 317.

under the yoke; it is more surprizing that we are at a loss whether these exploits at Caudium and afterwards at Luceria were not performed by Cornelius in the quality of dictator, and L. Papirius as general of the horse; and whether this latter, who avenged the indignities done to the Roman name in such a singular manner, was not rewarded with a triumph upon the justest title that ever that honor was granted to any since the days of Furius Camillus; or whether these glorious achievements are not to be ascribed to the two consuls, and principally to Papirius. But this is not the only uncertainty in this period, for we are also left at a loss whether Papirius Cursor, on account of his great success at Luceria, was not, at the next comitia, continued in his office and declared consul for the third time, together with Q. Aulus Ceretanus, or whether it was L. Papirius Mugillanus who was chosen upon this occasion, and the mistake has taken its rise from their having both the same surname.

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FROM this period it is agreed the war was carried on to a conclusion by the consuls. Aulus put an end to the war with the people of Ferentum^a by one successful battle, and having got hostages received the town itself, into which the routed army had retired, into his protection. With the like good fortune the other consul carried on the war against the inhabitants of Satricum, who notwithstanding they were citizens of Rome, revolted to the Samnites upon the disaster at Caudium, and received a garison of that people into their city. For when he had advanced with his army to the walls of Satricum, the inhabitants sent ambassadors in the most submissive manner to treat with him about a peace; but the consul sent them back with a severe answer, forbidding them to return to him till they had either put to death or delivered up the Samnite garison. By this expression he struck greater terror into that colony than he had done by the dread of his arms.

^a It stood beyond Venusium and is now called Fiorenza.

But soon after the deputies asked the consul, how he thought they, who were but a handful of weak people, could offer violence to such a strong and armed body of men? He replied, that they should consult with those persons by whose advice they had been prevailed upon to receive that garison into their city. Upon this they departed, having with great difficulty obtained leave to consult their senate upon this subject, and return to him with their answer. The senate of Satricum was at that time divided into two parties: at the head of one were those who had been the principal promoters of the revolt from the Romans, the other consisted of citizens of integrity. Both were fond of dealing with the Roman consul to procure a peace; but as the Samnite garison was to march out next night, because they had made no preparations for bearing a siege, one party satisfied themselves with acquainting the consul at what hour of the night they were to march out, at what gate they were to evacuate the place, and what rout they were to take; the other, which had been against revolting to the Samnites, opened one of the gates to the consul that very night, and received the armed enemies into the city. By this means the Samnites were doubly betrayed, for they were surprized on their march by troops posted in the woods near the road to fall upon them unawares, and as soon as the town was full of enemies they set up a shout, and in a moment the Samnites there were slain, the people of Satricum made prisoners, and every thing put in the consul's power. The first thing he did was to make inquiry for those by whose means this revolt had been brought about, and such as he found guilty, he whipt with rods and beheaded. Then he planted a strong garison in the city and obliged the inhabitants to give up their arms. Those authors who are of opinion that Papirius commanded at the taking of Luceria, and made the Samnites pass under the yoke, assert that upon this he went to celebrate his triumph at Rome. And the truth is, he was a man who, without question, de-

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served the highest praises for his achievements in war, and excelled not only in the vigor of his understanding but also in bodily strength. He was particularly remarkable for his swiftness, which procured him the surname of Cursor, and is supposed to have been able to outrun all his contemporaries. And whether we choose to ascribe it to the greatness of his strength, or the frequent exercises to which he inured himself, he could eat and drink to a prodigious degree. As he was himself indefatigable in bearing hardships and bodily labor, so none ever subjected the troops, both horse and foot, to a more severe discipline. His cavalry on a certain occasion having had the courage to demand, “that he would abate some part of their ordinary toil in consideration of their good behavior in battle,” he answered, “that you may not have it to say I have dispensed with nothing, I will excuse your not stroking down your backs when you dismount from your horses.” He maintained his authority, with great strictness and rigor, both over citizens and allies. The prætor of Præneste, by the prevalence of his fear, had advanced too slowly in leading his command from the body of reserve to the line of battle. Cursor afterwards, as he was walking before his tent, ordered him to be called, and when he came bid one of his lictors get ready his ax. As the Prænestine stood amazed and quite shocked at the expression, he added, “come lictor, cut down this root, because it may be troublesome to those that walk this way ;” but after he had put him in fear of a capital punishment, he only condemned him to pay a fine and dismissed him. To conclude, in that age, which produced as many remarkable instances of merit and virtue as any, there was not one who contributed more to support and extend the Roman empire. And he is even thought, as a general, to have been a fit match for Alexander the great, if that prince, after the conquest of Asia, had turned his arms against Europe.

IT will evidently appear, that from the very be-
ginning of this work, I have been solicitous about
nothing less than to depart too much from the course
of my history, to set off my book with variety of
ornaments, or indulge myself in agreeable digressions
to amuse my readers or relieve my own mind. Yet
the bare mention of so great a king obliges me to
communicate to the world the thoughts concerning
him, which have often employed my mind in secret,
and take this opportunity to enquire what would have
been the consequence to the affairs of Rome, if they
had been obliged to carry on a war against Alexander.
The advantages which are of the greatest importance
in war, are the numbers and bravery of the troops
you employ, the capacity of the generals, and fortune,
which has a prodigious influence in all human affairs,
but especially in the events of war. And yet when
I seriously consider all these advantages, whether to-
gether or apart, the Romans had such a share in
them as must have rendered them as invincible in
dealing with this monarch, as they were in their
struggles against other nations. To begin first with
running the parallel between him and their generals:
I am far from denying that Alexander was an ex-
cellent commander, but his reputation was the greater
that he had none to share the command with him;
that he was young, and died in the height of his
prosperity, before he met with any instance of adverse
fortune. For not to mention other renowned kings
and generals, who are remarkable instances of the vi-
cissitudes of human affairs, what was it but a long life
that exposed Cyrus, on whom the Greeks bestow
such extravagant praises, to the frowns of fortune,
as it lately did Pompey the great? Let me only
mention some of the Roman generals, and those not
picked out of the history of different ages, but the
very persons with whom, in the character of consuls
or dictators, Alexander, upon this supposition, must
have fought, I mean M. Valerius Corvus, C. Martius
D d 2 Rutilus,

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Rutilus, C. Sulpicius, T. Manlius Torquatus, Q. Publilius Philo, L. Papirius Cursor, Q. Fabius Maximus, the two Decii, L. Volumnius and Manius Curius. These were succeeded by other heroes of extraordinary abilities, whom he must have had to deal with, if he had made war upon the Carthaginians, before he attacked the Romans, and only passed into Italy when he was far advanced in years. Any of these great men was a match for Alexander in courage and capacity, as well as military discipline, which having been delivered down from hand to hand in a constant succession, from the very foundation of the city, had now attained to the perfection of an art, contained in a methodical system of precepts. Thus the Roman kings had carried on their wars, and thus also the Junii and Valerii who expelled those kings. Thus after them fought the Fabii, Quinctii and Cornelii; and Furius Camillus, who lived long enough to be seen by two young Romans, who must have fought with Alexander: and as Alexander ventured his person in battle, and fought with the rest of his troops, which was one of the brightest parts of his character, would these Roman heroes have been inferior to him in this respect? Would Manlius Torquatus, or Valerius Corvus in particular, who were both renowned for their exploits in the station of soldiers before they were commanders in chief, have yielded one inch of ground if they had met him on equal terms in the field? Would the Decii, who rushed furiously upon their enemies with bodies devoted to death, have been afraid of him, or would he have obtained any advantage against Papirius Cursor, so equally famous for his undaunted courage and uncommon strength? And not to mention more particular men, would one single youth have got the better in wisdom and conduct of that senate, which, by the only person who formed a just notion of it, was said to be entirely made up of kings? Was it to be apprehended that he would pitch upon a proper place for his camp with greater sagacity than any one of those I have named

named, secure better his convoys of provisions, be more upon his guard against stratagems and ambuscades, draw up his army with greater art, or strengthen it more effectually with bodies of reserve? No, he must have owned he had not to do with Darius, whom he conquered without the expence of blood, merely by bravely daring to contemn vain pomp, and a prince who carrying about with him an immense number of women and eunuchs, enervated with gold and purple, and being encumbered with the splendid badges of his wealth and greatness, was to be considered as a prey rather than an enemy. He would have thought the appearance of Italy quite different from that of India, through which he marched with his drunken army, revelling and feasting all the way; especially when he had viewed the unpassable forests of Apulia, and the vast mountains of Lucania, where he might have discovered the fresh marks of the havock made in his own family by the slaughter of Alexander king of Epirus his uncle by the mother.

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ALL this while we are speaking of Alexander not over-powered by prosperity, which no man ever could bear worse than he; for if we consider him according to his new fortune, and so to speak, the new turn of mind which he assumed after his conquests, he would have passed into Italy more like to Darius than Alexander, and must have brought with him a Macedonian army, forgetting themselves and degenerating into the manners of the Persians. In speaking of so great a king, I am sorry to mention his vanity in changing his dress, his fondness to be approached by his people in the fawning posture of prostration, which must have been shocking to the Macedonians if they had been a conquered people, and much so as they were conquerors, the cruel punishments he inflicted, his inhuman murdering of his friends amidst his feasts and revelling, and the vain ambition by which he falsely pretended to divine extraction. But what if his love to wine had continually

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nually grown upon him, and his cruel and hot passion daily encreased? I am speaking of nothing that is so much as questioned among historians, can we think that his abilities as a general would have suffered no disadvantage by them? Or was there any ground to apprehend, that as some of the most worthless of the Greeks, who endeavor to raise even the glory of the Parthian kings in opposition to the Roman name, use to assert, the people of Rome could not bear the awful name of Alexander, which, in my opinion, they had never so much as heard of, and that notwithstanding in Athens, a city quite oppressed by the force of the Macedonian arms, especially at a time when the inhabitants might see the ruins of Thebes almost smoking before their eyes, the orators durst declaim with great freedom against that prince, as appears plain from the collections of their orations yet extant, none of the numerous nobility of Rome should have the boldness to utter, so much as one free expression concerning him? After all however, great as he is supposed to have been, it must be owned that this greatness was attained by a flow of good fortune in little more than the space of ten years, and those who raise it so high from this consideration, that the Romans, though never conquered in any war, have however been routed in many battles, whereas Alexander never went to the field but he returned victorious, do not reflect, that they are comparing the exploits of a single man and a young man too with those of a people who have been constantly engaged in war during the course of eight hundred years. Shall we then be surprized, that seeing there are more ages in one of these periods than years in the other, fortune has discovered more of her inconstancy in such a long tract of time than in the short space of thirteen years? Why don't you rather compare man with man, and the good fortune of one general with that of another? How many Roman generals could I name who were never routed in the field? You may see whole pages in the annals and records of magistrates filled with
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the names of consuls and dictators, with whose valor and good fortune the Roman people were never dissatisfied. And to shew that they have a more just title to our admiration than Alexander or any other king, some of them held the dictatorship but ten, others twenty days, and none ever enjoyed the consulship above a year: their levies were often obstructed by the plebeian tribunes, and they went to war after the season was passed: they were sometimes recalled, before the proper time, to hold the comitia, and the year of their authority expired while their affairs were in the crisis: sometimes the forwardness, and at others the obstinacy of their colleagues either retarded their success, or made it less considerable: they often suffered by the miscarriages of those who preceded them in their charges, and as often had an army quite unacquainted with the exercises of war, or trained according to the rules of a bad discipline. But kings on the other hand, as they are absolute masters of their affairs, and the proper seasons for setting about them, are exempted from all these impediments, they make every thing give way to their designs, and are never obliged to prosecute the schemes, which others have formed. Alexander then, with his uninterrupted series of victories, and his generals, who to that time had never been foiled, might have made war upon the republic of Rome, but he must have exposed all the favors which fortune had lavished upon him to great hazard, and his danger would have been the greater, because the Macedonians would have had none to depend upon but himself, who was not only liable to many accidents, but fond of exposing himself to dangers; whereas the Romans had many who were upon an equal footing with him with regard to renown and great exploits, whose life or death would only have affected themselves, without the least hazard or detriment to the state.

HAP. IT now remains, that I compare their armies,
 XIX. both with respect to the number and goodness of
 the troops, or the auxiliaries they had to depend upon. In the lustra of that age two hundred and fifty thousand citizens were enrolled. Therefore whenever the Latine allies revolted, very near ten legions were lifted out of the city alone, and during these years four or five armies were often employed at once, in Hetruria, in Umbria and against the Gauls, in Samnium and in Lucania. Besides this, throughout Latium, the country of the Sabines, Volsci and Aequi, all Campania and a part of Umbria and Hetruria; the dominions of the Piceni, Marfi, Peligni and Apulians, with all the coast of the Hetrurian sea inhabited by the Greeks, from Thurii to Neapolis and Cumæ, and from Antium^e and Ostia to the country of the Samnites, he must have found none but such as were powerful allies to the Romans, or some of their enemies quite spent and exhausted by war. He must have passed the sea himself with his veteran troops of Macedonia, consisting at most of thirty thousand men and four thousand horse, who were for the most part from Theffaly, for these were his whole strength. And supposing he had reinforced them with the Persians, Indians, and his other conquered nations, he would have found them an incumbrance rather than an advantage. Add to this, that the Romans would have always had supplies ready at hand in their own country, but Alexander, which was also Hannibal's fate, as he would have been carrying on war in foreign regions, must have found his army decaying with age. The Macedonians were also armed with small shields and spears only, whereas the Romans had the long buckler, which was a more effectual defence for their bodies, and the javelin, a weapon far more dangerous than the spear, whether you employ it at hand, or throw it at a distance. The troops of both nations were used to stand firm and keep their ranks, but the Macedonian phalanx was

was immovable and admitted of no variety, whereas the Roman line of battle was formed in a better method, and as it consisted of more parts could with greater ease be brought to open it's files and close them again. Besides all this, who can equal the Roman troops in raising works? Or who can exceed them in enduring fatigue and hardships? Had Alexander lost one battle he must have had the worst in the whole war, but what army could have broke the spirits of the Romans, who did not sink under the disasters they suffered at Caudium and Cannæ. The truth is, even supposing he had succeeded in his first attempts, he would have often wished to have to do with the Persians, Indians, and other effeminate nations of Asia, and said that hitherto he had only fought against women, an expression supposed to have been used by Alexander king of Epirus, when he received his death's wound and was comparing the fate of the wars which this young prince had carried on in Asia, with those he had been engaged in himself. When I remember that the first Punick war was maintained against the Carthaginians by sea during the course of four and twenty years, I can scarce persuade myself that Alexander could have lived long enough to see one war with the Romans at an end. And perhaps as the Romans and Carthaginians had been united together by ancient treaties, and the fear of the common enemy was apt to make both these states, so famed for their numbers and warlike genius, have recourse to arms at once, Alexander might have been quite overpowered by both at the same time. After all, the Romans had a proof of the strength of the Macedonians in the field, not indeed when they had Alexander at their head, nor while their empire was entire, but in the war with Antiochus, Philip, and Perseus, and were so far from suffering any disaster by their means, that they did not so much as run the hazard of it. But setting aside the civil wars, I may say without vanity that we were never routed by any army of horse or foot in a pitched

HAP. ed battle, when we either had the advantage of the
 XIX. ground, or were on equal terms in this respect. It is
 true indeed, that our heavy armed troops may be
 afraid of horse, arrows, impracticable forests, and
 places which lye out of the way of provisions, but
 they have routed a thousand armies better than that
 of Alexander and his Macedonians, and will continue
 to do so still, if they are always careful to maintain
 that love to peace and harmony amongst all ranks in
 which we live at this day.

HAP. AFTER this Fossius Flaccinator and L. Plautius
 XX. Venno were elected consuls, during their administra-
 tion, a very full diet of the Samnites sent embassa-
 dors to Rome to renew their treaty of peace, who,
 by prostrating themselves on the ground in the most
 humble manner made a great impression upon the
 senate, but when they were referred to the people,
 their intreaties had not so great an effect. So that
 they were refused a treaty, but after they had, for
 some days, fatigued the leading men by the impor-
 tunity of their particular applications, they obtained
 a truce for two years. The Theanenſes^a also and
 Canuſini^b, nations of Apulia, tired out with the
 pillaging of their lands, gave hostages to C. Plautius,
 and subjected themselves to the Roman republic.
 The same year the people of Capua had their first
 prefects appointed, and a system of laws delivered
 them by L. Furius the prætor, because in their distress-
 ed state, they had applied for both as a remedy
 against intestine divisions. The Ufentine^c and Fa-
 lernian^d tribes were also added to the number of those
 which had been formerly established at Rome. And
 as the affairs of Apulia had once taken a turn, the
 Theates^e, who were also of that country, applied to

^a See below note e.

^b Their capital Canuſium was built
 by Diomedes.

^c So called from it's being settled
 on the Uſens now the Aufente, which
 runs into the sea on the confines of
 Latium, near Terracina.

^d So called from the hill Falernus
 in Campania.

^e Their city Theate lay in the hi-
 ther Abruzzo, in the canton of the
 Marrucini, and not in Apulia. It
 must therefore be a mistake of the
 copyists who wrote *Theates* for *Teanenſes*,
 whose city stood on the Fortore.

the new consuls C. Junius Bubulcus and Q. Æmilius Barbula for a treaty of alliance, and promised that they would bring all the nations of Apulia in general to a peace with the Romans. The confidence they discovered in promising this, procured them a treaty, yet not such a one as obtains between equals, but such as is granted to those who give up themselves to the protection of the Roman state. Apulia being now quite reduced, for Junius had made himself master of their strong city of Forentum ^a, the Roman army marched against the Lucanians, and the consul Æmilius by an expeditious march from thence, surprized the city of Nerulum ^b, and took it by storm. After the report spread that the affairs of Capua were re-established by their accepting of the Roman laws, the Antiates also complained that they had neither stated laws nor magistrates to govern them. Upon which the senate assigned them patrons to draw up a body of laws for the colony there. By this means not only the Roman arms, but also their laws prevailed to a vast distance round the city.

C. Junius
Bubulcus
and Q. Æ-
milius Bar-
bula consuls.
Y. of R. 437.
B. J. C. 315.

C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS and Q. Æmilius Barbula did not deliver up the command of the legions to Sp. Nautius and M. Popilius, whom they had elected to succeed them in the consulship, but to L. Æmilius the dictator. He, with the assistance of L. Fulvius his general of the horse, having laid siege to Saticula ^a, gave the Samnites a handle to renew the war. By this means the Romans were alarmed from two quarters at once. For on the one hand the Samnites, to deliver their allies from the siege, posted themselves at a small distance from the Roman camp, and on the other, the people of Saticula, having opened their gates on a sudden,

Sp. Nautius
and M. Po-
pilius con-
suls,
Æmilius
dictator, L.
Fulvius ge-
neral of
horse.
Y. of R. 438.
B. J. C. 314.

^a It lay a little above the present Chirensa in a large valley; part of the Apennines, called mount Vultur, lay betwixt it and Venusium. It is now called Fiorenza.

^b Cluver calls it Episcopia, near the river Senno. Holstein proves it

stood over against the Apennines near the river Laino, in the place now called Rotunda.

^a It stood on the frontiers of Samnium and Campania, near the present Caserta.

CHAP. XXI. sallied out with a terrible noise and attacked the enemy's outguards. Soon after both nations, each trusting more to the assistance they expected from the other than to their own strength, came to a general battle with the Romans, and vigorously attacked them on each side : but though they fought with great fury, yet the dictator kept his men pretty safe both in front and rear, because he not only had posted himself in a place which could not be easily invested, but also obliged his troops to face both ways. Those that had sallied out of the city he attacked with the greatest fury, which soon obliged them to retreat within their walls, and then made all his troops advance against the Samnites, who maintained the fight with greater resolution. It was long before victory declared itself, but at last it was general and complete. The Samnites being routed, put out all their fires in the night-time, and retired in great silence to their camp, where having lost all hopes of relieving Saticula, they resolved to invest Plifia ^b, a city in alliance with the Romans, and thereby pay them home in their own coin.

CHAP. XXII. AT the end of the year, Q. Fabius, in quality of dictator, had the management of the war ; for the new consuls ^a, after the example of those who preceded them in their office staid at Rome. Fabius arrived at Saticula with a reinforcement to take the command of the army from Æmilius. But the Samnites had not continued long at Plifia ; for having sent for recruits from their own country, and being flushed with the number of their troops, they encamped on the same spot of ground where they had been posted before, and offering the Romans battle, endeavored to oblige them to raise the siege. But

Q. Fabius,
dictator,
Q. A. Cere-
retanus ge-
neral of
horse.
Y. of R. 439.
B. J. C. 315.

^b If there really was anciently a city of this name, no traces of it remain now. Cluver thinks our author means Plestina in the country of the Marfi.

^a The learned are of opinion, that

here ought to be added the following names, *L. Papirius Cursor*, and *Q. Publilius Philo* both a fourth time. They certainly were consuls this year, and were not omitted by our author, but by some careless copyist



as the dictator was persuaded nothing would contribute more to bring the war to a conclusion than the reduction of that place, he resolved to push it on with the greater vigor, and secured himself against the Samnites by posting out-guards in proper places, that they might not have an opportunity to attack his camp. This made the Samnites ride round the lines with the greater rage, as being quite impatient of these delays. But when they were advanced almost to the gates of the camp, Q. Aulus Cerretanus, the general of the horse, without consulting the dictator, sallied out with all his cavalry and repulsed the enemy. Though this sort of engagements seldom uses to be very bloody, fortune so displayed her power upon this occasion, that there was a great havoc made on both sides, and the two generals died with great honor. For the general of the Samnites, extremely vexed that he should be routed and driven away from these lines which he had rode round in such an insulting manner, by humble intreaties and pressing exhortations brought back his horse and renewed the battle. The Roman general of the horse, distinguishing him from the rest by his pompous dress, as he was animating his men to battle, put spurs to his horse with such fury, that by one push of his lance, he brought him down dead to the ground. Here contrary to what commonly happens in such cases, the consternation of the Samnites at the fate of their general was not greater than their rage, for all that were about him thrust their darts at Aulus, who had imprudently thrown himself amidst the enemy's squadrons; but the chief honor of avenging the death of their general is ascribed to his own brother, who, in the excess of sorrow and rage, pulled the victorious general of the Roman cavalry off his horse and slew him. And as he fell amidst their own troops, the Samnites had very near made themselves masters of his body; but immediately the Romans dismounted, the Samnites also were obliged to do the same, and all of a sudden the two armies fought on foot

CHAP. foot round the bodies of their commanders. The
 XXII. Romans however obtained a complete victory, and
 having recovered Aulus's body, conveyed it back to
 their own camp, with a mixture of joy and sorrow.
 The Samnites having lost their general, and tried the
 strength of their cavalry in opposition to that of the
 Romans, leaving Saticula, which they thought they
 were not able to save, returned to the siege of Plifia,
 and in a few days Saticula, was surrendered to the Ro-
 mans, and the Samnite army made themselves ma-
 sters of Plifia.

CHAP. SOON after this the seat of the war was chang-
 XXIII. ed, and the legions led from Samnium and Apulia
 to Sora. The inhabitants of this place had first massacred
 the Roman colony, and then revolted to the Samnites.
 The Roman army having made long marches, that
 they might the sooner have an opportunity to re-
 venge the death of their countrymen, and recover
 their colony, arrived there before their enemies; but
 as the spies they had dispersed in different parts of
 the country, returned, one upon the back of ano-
 ther, with accounts that the Samnite legions were in
 pursuit of them, and like to come up with them
 very soon, they went in quest of the enemy, and
 gave them battle at Lautulæ. But in this engage-
 ment the victory was doubtful; for neither of the
 armies had suffered much nor retreated, when the
 night parted them, and left both parties at a loss to
 know whether they were victorious or not. I find
 in some authors that the Romans were routed in this
 battle, and lost in it Q. Aulus, the general of their
 horse. C. Fabius, who was chosen to succeed Aulus
 in his command, marched with a new army from
 Rome, and having sent proper persons before him
 to consult the dictator about the place where he
 should halt, with the time and manner in which he
 should attack the enemy, and sufficiently concerted
 the measures necessary for every part of the enter-
 prize, posted himself with the greatest secrecy in the
 place

place assigned him. The dictator, having for some days kept his men within their lines, rather like one who was besieged himself, than that intended to besiege others, all of a sudden gave the signal for battle, and thinking there was no more effectual means to raise the courage of brave men, than to satisfy them, they had no hope left but in their own valor, he gave his troops no information concerning the general of the horse, nor the new army under his command, but pretending that nothing could save them but their cutting their own way through the enemy's army, he addressed them thus. "As we are penn'd up, soldiers, in this narrow spot of ground we have no way to escape, except we shall open one to ourselves by putting our enemies to the rout. It is true, our camp is sufficiently secured by our works, but it is at the same time exposed to the severe persecution of want and famine. For all the places about, from whence we could expect to be supplied with provisions, have revolted to the enemy, and though men were willing to relieve us, the enemy is in possession of all the passes. Therefore I will not disappoint you, by leaving our camp here that you may retire to it, as you did the other day, before you got the victory. Our lines ought to be defended by the force of arms, and not our arms by the strength of lines. It is proper for those to have a camp, and retire to it, who think it worth their while to spin out the war; but let us put our confidence in nothing but victory. Wherefore advance and bear your standards against the enemy, and as soon as the army has got without the lines, let those to whom I have given orders for that purpose, set fire to the camp. The plunder, soldiers, of all those states around us, who have revolted to the enemy, shall abundantly make up your loss." As this speech seemed to have been extorted from the dictator by the force of extreme necessity, it raised the courage of the soldiers,

and

CHAP. and determined them to march against the enemy.
XXIII. And the concern they had for their camp which they might see burning, though the nearest parts of it only had been set on fire by the dictator's orders, was no small motive to determine them to do their utmost. Wherefore falling upon the enemy like men distracted, they put them into confusion at the first charge, and the general of the horse observing at a distance the camp set on fire, which was the signal concerted between him and the dictator, came up in time to attack the enemy's rear. The Samnites seeing themselves thus hemmed in on every side, dispersed, and every man shifted for himself the best way he could. But a very considerable body of men, whose fear had determined them to run so closely together that they obstructed one another in standing to their own defence, were surrounded and cut to pieces. After the enemy's camp was taken and plundered, and the troops had loaded themselves with the spoil, the dictator led his army back to their own; nor did the complete victory they had gained yield them so much pleasure, as to find that a small part of it only had been defaced by the flames, and contrary to their expectation all the rest was entire.

CHAP. A F T E R this success the army marched back
XXIV. to Sora, and Fabius the dictator having resigned the command to the new consuls M. Pæteli^{us} and C. Sul-
 M. Pæteli^{us} and C. Sul-
 picius, con-
 suls,
 Y. of R. 440.
 B. J. C. 312. picius they discharged a great part of the veteran troops, and supplied their places with the new listed cohorts they had brought along with them from Rome. As the town of Sora had great advantages with respect to its situation, which naturally secured it against assaults, the Romans had not yet determined how to carry on their attacks, for it could not be stormed without extreme hazard, and it must take a long time to reduce it by a blockade. These considerations perplexed the assailants, till a deserter, who had made his escape out of the place, came to the Ro-
 man

man guards, desiring to be immediately conducted to the consuls, and when he was admitted into their presence, promised to deliver the town into their hands. Upon their enquiring by what means he would do it, he returned such answers as convinced them his design was not impracticable. So that though their army was encamped hard by the city walls, he prevailed with them to remove six miles further, because he was persuaded this would contribute to make their guards and sentries more secure in the day-time, and their watchmen during the night less attentive to their duty. Next night, having ordered some cohorts to post themselves in a place covered with bushes a little below the town, he carried six chosen men along with him through rugged and almost unaccessible paths into the citadel, where he had already provided a greater quantity of missive weapons and darts than such a small number of men could have use for on ordinary occasions. There were also great numbers of stones lying there at random, as commonly happens in such rough places, besides what the inhabitants had of purpose gathered together in heaps for the better defence of the place. Here he posted the Roman soldiers, and having shewn them a narrow and steep path leading from the town to the citadel, said, “Three armed
“men are sufficient to defend this pass against the
“greatest numbers, much more you, who are ten in
“number, and which is more, not only Romans, but
“even the bravest of that people. The post you
“possess is your security, and your enterprize is also
“favored by the night, which represents every
“doubtful object with additional terror to those who
“are once put in a consternation. Do you in the
“mean time take particular care to keep your possession of the citadel, and I shall soon spread the
“alarm through all the parts of the town.” With these words he run down crying out as loud as ever he could “to arms, to arms, citizens, for God’s sake!
“the enemies are in possession of your citadel, haste

HAP. "and run to it's defence." Thus he called out at the
 gates to the principal men of the city, when they hap-
 pened to be in his way; thus he called aloud to those
 who met him, and thus he bawled to the timorous
 people who were running out into the streets. The
 magistrates in great consternation were soon inform-
 ed by those whom they had sent to observe the
 state of the citadel, that it was possessed by a great
 number of armed men, and the darts flying a-
 pace, upon which they lost all hopes of recovering
 it. The inhabitants from all quarters, endeavored
 to save themselves by flight, and though they were
 but half awake and for the most part unarmed, broke
 the gates to pieces. Upon this, the Roman cohorts,
 who had been roused by the clamor and noise, rush-
 ed in at one of them, and put all to the sword whom
 they found running up and down the streets in de-
 spair. Thus Sora was entirely in the hands of the
 Romans when the consuls arrived at day break, and
 received as prisoners of war those who had not yet fled
 out of the city, and whom fortune had saved from
 the carnage that was made in the night. Of these
 two hundred and twenty-five who by the common
 testimony of all were pitched upon as the persons
 that had advised the inhuman massacre of the co-
 lony, and been ringleaders in the revolt, were sent
 in chains to Rome, where they were all whipt with
 rods, and afterwards beheaded. This was an instance
 of severity which gave the greatest satisfaction to the
 people, as the security of those, who were daily sent
 into colonies, was of the highest importance to them.
 The rest of the inhabitants of Sora were pardoned
 and left in their native city, but there was a garison
 planted in the place.

CHAP. A S soon as the consuls marched from Sora, they
 carried the war into the country and cities of the Au-
 sonians. For all states therein had taken arms upon the
 approach of the Samnites and the news of the battle
 which was fought at Lautulæ; and the people round
 about

about Campania entered into conspiracies. Capua itself was suspected of a concern in these plots, nay the enquiry was even carried to Rome, and to some of the most considerable men there. But the Aufonians were betrayed into the hands of the Romans, as Sora had been before. For twelve of the most considerable young men of Aufona, Minturnæ and Vescia, who had agreed upon discovering the designs of these cities, came to the consuls and represented “ that their countrymen, who had for a considerable “ time been waiting for the coming of the Samnites, “ as soon as they heard of the battle of Lautulæ, taking “ it for granted that the Romans were defeated, had “ supplied the Samnites with men and arms. Since “ that people were routed, they had observed a kind “ of deceitful peace, for they had not yet shut their “ gates against the Romans, and yet they were “ firmly resolved to do it, if their armies should “ approach to their dominions. In this irresolute “ state it would be an easy matter to surprize them “ before they could be aware of the design.” By their advice the consuls drew nearer to these three places with their armies, and at the same time sent detachments of troops, some of them armed and in their proper dress, to post themselves secretly near their walls, and others in the habit of citizens with arms under their gowns, who were to enter the gates as soon as they should be opened in the morning about day-break. And when they should begin to kill the guards, give a signal to the rest who were armed and lying in ambush to come to their assistance. By this means the gates were seized and three cities were taken not only at the same time, but also by the same stratagem. But as they were surprized in the absence of the general officers, the soldiers gave no quarter to the Aufonians, though they were scarce convicted of any design to revolt, and they were put to the sword as if they had carried on an irreconcilable war with the Romans.

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THE same year the Roman garison at Luceria being betrayed, that city fell into the hands of the Samnites, but the traitors were not long unpunished. For the Roman army was not far off, and as the city stood in a plain, they made themselves masters of it at the first assault. The Lucerians and Samnites were entirely cut to pieces; and their resentment was carried so far, that when the senate at Rome were consulted about sending a new colony to that city, many gave their votes for the entire demolition of it. For besides the irreconcilable aversion they had to a people who had twice been taken in rebellion, the distance of the place made them averse from sending their fellow-citizens into a kind of exile, so far from their native country and among nations which were so implacable enemies to the Roman name. But after all the matter was carried in the affirmative and accordingly a colony, consisting of two thousand five hundred citizens, was sent into that country. This year also, as designs were formed in all places against Rome, the most considerable citizens of Capua were entering into secret conspiracies against that state, and a motion being made in the senate with regard to these plots, the fathers thought it an affair not to be neglected. Wherefore they ordered a strict inquiry to be made into the matter, and to preside in it named C. Mænius dictator, who chose M. Fossius for his general of the horse. This extraordinary officer struck exceeding great terror into that people, so that either for fear of him, or from a conviction of their own guilt, it is certain the two Calavii, Novius, and Ovius who were the ring-leaders in this conspiracy, before they were accused to the dictator, laid violent hands on themselves, and by a voluntary death prevented their trial. Afterwards when materials failed for carrying on the inquisition at Capua, the dictator, by explaining his commission in an extensive sense, transferred his court to Rome, pretending that the senate had not expressly restricted him to Capua, but given a general

C. Mænius
dictator, M.
Fossius ge-
neral of the
horse.

neral order to enquire into the conduct of all, who, in any place whatever, had been concerned in unlawful assemblies, or formed conspiracies to the prejudice of the state, and consequently to take notice of all combinations for intruding particular men into the offices of state, because they also were plots against the commonwealth. By this means the inquest became more extensive both with respect to persons and causes, and the dictator owned without ceremony, that his commission to take such crimes under his cognizance was in all respects absolute and unlimited. So that several of the nobility were attainted, and when they applied to the tribunes for assistance, none of that college would interpose to prevent inserting their names in the impeachment. Upon this, the Patricians, not those only who were impeached, but the whole order in general, asserted that the great men of obscure birth were the proper persons to be charged with this crime, and not they who, when there were no fraudulent practices employed against them, had easy access to honorable employments. Therefore it was more proper the dictator and general of the horse should themselves take their trial, than be judges in this case, and this they should both be made sensible of, as soon as their authority expired. This imputation made Mænius more thoughtful about his character than the authority of his office, and therefore he went directly to the assembly of the people, and expressed himself thus ;

“ You are all acquainted, Romans, with the preceding part of my life, and the honor you have conferred upon me is an evidence of my innocence. For whatever you may have done on many former occasions, when the necessities of the state required it, you were not at this time to choose the most celebrated warrior to be your dictator and preside in these inquisitions, but the person who of all others had led his life at the greatest distance from such ambitious associations and cabals. Yet since some noblemen, for what reason it is bet-

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“ter you should judge for yourselves, than that I,
 “who am a magistrate, should assert any thing
 “whereof I am not absolutely certain, first used
 “all their efforts to put an end to these inquisitions,
 “and when they found this was beyond the reach of
 “their power, to save themselves from taking their
 “trial, they had recourse to the strong holds of their
 “adversaries, and though patricians, endeavor-
 “ed to screen themselves under the protection
 “and support of the plebeian tribunes. When
 “they were disappointed in this also, so much were
 “they persuaded that every other method was safer
 “than that of venturing to stand their trial and ap-
 “prove their innocence, that at last they have at-
 “tacked our character, and, though private men,
 “were not ashamed to impeach a dictator. Where-
 “fore that Gods and men may be fully satisfied,
 “that rather than be obliged to give an account
 “of their own actions they have undertaken what
 “is not in their power, I am resolved to wipe off
 “the aspersions, and therefore, to give my enemies
 “an opportunity of bringing me to my trial, I
 “demit my dictatorial power. To conclude, it is
 “my request to you, consuls, that, in case the
 “senate will intrust you with that power, you would
 “first inquire into M. Fostius’s conduct and mine,
 “that it may appear to the conviction of all, we
 “are secured against these accusations, merely by
 “our innocence, and not by the lustre of the ho-
 “nors we have been advanced to in the state.”
 Immediately after this, he resigned his dictatorship.
 M. Fostius also gave up his command of the horse;
 and as the senate committed that affair to the con-
 suls, they were the first who stood their trial before
 them, and notwithstanding all that the patricians
 could alledge to their disadvantage, were acquitted
 with great honor. Publilius Philo, who had been often
 raised to the highest honors of the state, after many
 great exploits in war, and eminent services in peace,
 because the nobility were disaffected to him, was al-
 so obliged to take his trial, and acquitted. This
 inquisition,

inquisition, as commonly happens in such cases, was remarkable for the lustre of the persons who were brought to their trial only for a short while after it was first set on foot ; soon after it descended insensibly to persons of less consideration, till at last it was quite stifled by the parties and cabals, which it was originally intended to suppress.

THE news of these intestine divisions, but especially the hopes of a revolt in Campania, in consequence of the conspiracy which had been formed by that people, brought the Samnites back from Apulia to Caudium, that being at hand they might take Capua from the Romans, if any commotion should present them with a fair opportunity. The consuls also marched to the same place with a powerful army, and as they had no way to come at the enemy without exposing themselves to hazard, they first halted near the two famous passes. Soon after the Samnites fetching a small compass through the country, marched their army down to the plain, and posted themselves in the fields of Campania. There the two armies first encamped in sight of one another, and tried their strength by slight skirmishes, wherein they employed parties of horse oftener than detachments of foot. The Romans had reason to be satisfied with the issue of these scuffles, as well as the methods they used to spin out the war. But the Samnite generals, on the other hand, apprehended that their strength was wasted by the small losses they were daily sustaining, and would be gradually consumed by the tedious progress of the war. Therefore having brought their army to the field, they posted their horse upon the wings, with orders to keep a more watchful eye to the camp, in case any attempt should be made upon it, than to the field of battle, because the infantry would be able enough to keep their ground in the action. On the other side the consul Sulpicius posted himself on the right, and his colleague Pœtilius on the left. As that part of the Sam-

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HAP. nite line which stood opposite to Sulpicius, was very
XVII. thin because extended to a great length, either with
design to surround their enemies or to prevent their
being surrounded themselves, so the right-wing of the
Roman army was also drawn out to a considerable
extent ; but as the left-wing was ranged in closer or-
der, so it received additional strength from a sudden
device of Publilius the consul, for he immediately
brought up to the first line the cohorts, which in
case the victory had been long disputed, were in-
tended for a body of reserve, and then charging with
all his forces at once, made the enemy give way
at the first attack. When the Samnite infantry
began to retire, their cavalry came up to their re-
lief, but as they were endeavoring to throw them-
selves in between the two armies, the Roman horse
advanced at full speed, and pushed them back upon
their own men with such fury, that the horse and
foot with their respective standards were jumbled
together in confusion. Nor did they cease till all that
wing of the enemy's army was entirely routed. But
Pœtelius was not the only general officer who encou-
raged the Romans on that wing, for as the battle
was not yet begun on the right, Sulpicius, hearing
a shout set upon the other wing, abandoned his men
and flew to the left, and as soon as he saw this part
of the army secured in possession of the victory, return-
ed to his own wing with a reinforcement of twelve
hundred men. But there he found the very reverse of
what he had observed on the left, for the Romans
had quitted their ground, and when once put in a
consternation were vigorously pursued by the vic-
torious enemy. However the consul's presence im-
mediately put all to rights again ; for as the soldiers
recovered their courage upon seeing their general, so
he had brought with him a reinforcement more con-
siderable for the valor of the troops whereof it was
composed than their numbers. These circumstances,
together with the news, and soon after the sight of
the victory gained by the other wing, retrieved the
fortune

fortune of the battle. In a short time after, the Romans were entirely masters of the field, and the Samnites making no further opposition, were all taken prisoners, except such as fled to Maleventum, a city which has now changed it's name to that of Beneventum. In this battle it is reported, that thirty thousand Samnites were slain or made prisoners.

THE consuls having obtained this great victory, immediately thereafter marched to Bovianum^a, and passed the winter before it, until C. Pœtelius was nominated to the office of dictator, by the new consuls M. Papirius Cursor for the fifth, and C. Junius Bubulcus for the second time, took upon him the command of the army in conjunction with M. Fossilius, general of the horse. The new general having information that the citadel of Fregellæ was taken by the Samnites, left Bovianum and marched to that city, but the Samnites having abandoned the place in the night, he recovered it without expence of blood, and having put a strong garison in it returned to Campania, principally with a view to retake Nola. Upon his approach to that place, the whole multitude of the Samnites and the country people belonging to the Nolan territory, had shut themselves up in the city. Wherefore the dictator having taken an exact survey of the situation of the place, that he might have the more easy access to the walls, set fire to all the houses in the suburbs, which were very numerous and well inhabited. Not long after Nola was taken either by Pœtelius or C. Junius the consul, for some historians ascribe it to the one, and some to the other. Those who attribute the honor of this exploit to the consul, say also, that he made himself master of Atina and Calatia, and that Pœtelius was chosen dictator for no other reason than to perform the ceremony of driving the nail on account of a pestilential distemper. The same year colonies were

CHAP XXVIII.

M. Papirius cursor, C. Junius Bubulcus consuls, C. Pœtelius dictator, M. Fossilius general of horse. Y. of R. 447 B. J. C. 318

^a Now Boiano, in the county of Molise, in the kingdom of Naples. It is situated at the foot of the Apennines, near the head of the Biforno. planted

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M. Valerius
and P. Decius
consuls,
Y. of R. 442.
B. J. C. 312.

planted at Sueffa^a. and Pontia^b Sueffa had been a city of the Aurunci, and the Volsci had been in possession of Pontia, which was an island lying within sight of their own shore. An act of senate also passed for planting colonies at Interamna and Casinum^c. But they elected triumvirs to settle these plantations, and sent out four thousand citizens to those places. The present consuls were succeeded in their office by M. Valerius and P. Decius.

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THUS the war with the Samnites was near brought to a period, but before the Roman senators were quite eased of their concern about it, a report spread that a war was upon the point of breaking

^a This city was called Sueffa Aurunca, both because it stood in the country of the Aurunci, and to distinguish it from Sueffa Pometia, formerly one of the most considerable cities of the Volsci, near the Pomptin marshes.

^b Over against the territory of the Volsci, towards the Promontory of Circaëum, there were several islands, which our author calls Insulæ Pontiaë. The greatest of them was, by way of eminence, called the island of Pontia. It lay between the island of Palmaria, now Palmaruola, to the west; and the island of Sinonia, now Sanone, towards Cajeta, to the east. It is about thirteen thousand geometrical paces, that is, about four leagues and a half from the continent; and we must take care not to confound the island of Pontia here spoken of, with another of the same name, which was one of the Ænotrian islands, in the Lucanian Sea.

^c The old editions of Livy don't agree, as to the name of the second city, to which the Roman senate had resolved to send a colony. In some, it is Minturnæ, Minturnæ and Casinum; in others, Livy's words are *Veturnum & Casinum*; and lastly, some, instead of Interamnam, have Internam. Gelenius thinks it ought to be, *Intertiam Casinum*; as if Casinum had been the third place after Sueffa, and the island of Pon-

tia, to which the senate had determined to send a Roman colony. But Sigonius thinks these old editions ought to be corrected, and the text run thus, *Interamnam & Casinum*; and his authority for this, is that of Velleius Paterculus, b. i. This author says, that the republic sent a Roman colony first to Sueffa, and then to Interamna: and Livy himself says b. x. that the latter had the title of a colony, when the Samnites attempted to take it. Interamna stood in the country of the Volsci; and geographers give it the surname of Lirinas, because it's district was watered by the Liris. Cluver thinks the ruins found over-against Ponte Corvo, are the remains of this city. But Holstenius will have it to have stood in the place where Torre di Teramine now stands. Pliny says of the inhabitants of Interamna, *Interamnates Succufani, qui & Lirinales vocantur*. We cannot guess, why the Interamnates were called Succufani, unless, as Cluver observes, this denomination was given them, on account of a village near Interamna, called Succusa. But Holstenius interprets Succufani, by sub Casino, as signifying, that Interamna was not far from Casinum. This name distinguished it from several other cities, of which we shall speak in another place.



out with the Hetrurians, and next to the tumultuous invasions of the Gauls, there was no nation, at that time, whose arms were more terrible to the Romans, both on account of their near situation and the numbers of their men. Therefore while the other consul was prosecuting the remains of the war in Samnium, P. Decius, who was left at Rome in a very bad state of health, by order of the senate named C. Junius Bubulcus dictator. This general, as the importance of the occasion required, obliged all the youth to take the military oath, and got ready arms with the greatest diligence, yet he was not elated with all these great preparations, nor forward to begin the war, for he was fully resolved to remain quiet unless the Hetrurians should first take the field and attack the dominions of the republic. The Hetrurians had formed the same resolutions in their preparations and scheme for managing the war, so that neither of the two ventured out of their own dominions. This year was also remarkable for the censorship of Appius Claudius and C. Plautius; but the name of Appius has been transmitted to posterity with the greatest honor, because he paved a way^d, and

C. Junius
Bubulcus
dictator.

^d We may form some judgment of the Appian way, from the description Procopius gives us of it, in his first book, of the Gothick war. This way was made, says he, nine hundred years ago, by the order and direction of Appius Claudius, who was then censor. It reached from Rome to Capua, which is one hundred and forty-two miles, or about forty-seven leagues, at the rate of three miles per league. It was broad enough for two chariots to go a breast, without incommoding each other. The stones with which Appius built this great work, werelike the hardest flints. These he brought from a great distance, and procured the most skilful workmen to square these pieces of rock, and make them smooth with chisels: and with them they made so good a pavement, that the joints of the stones were scarce

perceptible. These stones were joined so artfully together, without any cement, that they looked like one single stone for several miles together. To which Procopius adds, that this vast work, consisting of such immense quantities of materials so artfully disposed, continued whole in his time, having then received no injury from carts and carriages. But he is mistaken, in supposing that Appius Claudius lived nine hundred years before him; it was not so much by at least fifty years. This famous road began at the gate Capena; and did not, for a great while, reach farther than Capua; though the author of the lives of illustrious men, gives Appius Claudius the honor of having carried the Appian way from Rome quite to Brundisium. Appiam Viam Brundisium stravisse. But it is certain, from the historians, that

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and brought an aquæduct^c into the city, and these works he performed alone, because his colleague, ashamed of the infamous and odious method in which they made up the roll of the senate, had resigned his charge. From that time Appius, retaining the positive obstinacy ingrafted in his family from the beginning, performed the office of censor alone. By the advice of the same Appius, then the family of the Potitii^f who had the privilege of performing the priestly

that it reached thither, in the beginning of Augustus's reign. *Brun-
dium longæ finis chartæque viæque*, says Horace, Sat. lib. v. History has not told us, who was the author, or manager, of this second work. But it was probably done, by the direction of Julius Cæsar. Plutarch gives us some proof of this, when he says, that the Roman people committed the inspection of the Appian way to Julius. It is very probable, that a Roman of Cæsar's spirit, who formed none but great designs, might resolve to gain himself reputation and esteem, by finishing what another had so gloriously begun. And what confirms this conjecture, is, that Plutarch says he spent great sums of money upon the Appian way, the inspection of which was committed to him.

^c These rivulets came from several places, and united near the territory of Tusculum, or Frascati. All the water of them was conveyed through different channels to a common reservoir, seven hundred and eighty paces, to the right-hand of the road to Præneste, now Palestrina, between six and seven miles from Rome. From whence it was carried by an aquæduct, after long turnings and windings, to the Salt-pits, near the gates Capena and Trigemina. This subterraneous canal was eleven miles, and one hundred and thirty geometrical paces long : and near Rome, it was raised above ground, and carried sixty paces on arches. The waters which were brought so far, were conveyed all over Rome, by the help of twenty basons, or reservoirs, made in different quarters of the city for that purpose, and especially in the Circus,

for the Naumachiæ. These were representations of sea fights, and a part of the circensian games. Above one hundred and sixty years after, according to Frontinus, in his book *de aquæductibus*, the senate ordered Marcus Titius, prætor of Rome, to repair this aquæduct, and some others, the stone-work of which was decayed by time, and the continual friction of the waters. But Pliny and Plutarch calls this prætor, Quintus Marcius ; and the former gives us this account of these repairs. *Appiæ Antenis, Tepulæ Duētus, reficere Quintus Marcius jussus a senatu, novam a nomine suo appellatam cuniculis per montes actis intra præturæ suæ tempus adduxit.* lib. xxxvi. c. 15. Some commentators on our author are mistaken, in saying, that the water conveyed to the city by Appius, was called Aqua Marcia, after it's aquæduct had been repaired by Marcius's orders. It will hereafter appear, that this name belonged only to the water brought to Rome, in a much more magnificent aquæduct, for which the city was indebted to this magistrate. See book xvi. ch. lxi. n. a. p. 307. vol. iii.

^f Dionys. Hall's account of the priesthood of the Potitii, is this. Hercules being acknowledged to be a God by Evander, and the people of Latium ; he himself settled the order of the sacrifices which the nation engaged to offer him, every year. He committed the care of his worship, and gave the priestly offices, to two of the most noble families in the country, those of the Potitii, and Pinarii : and in length of time, the former gained some advantage over the latter. They had, by way of

chiefly office at the altar of Hercules^s called the Ara Maxima, having instructed some public servants in the solemn rites of their function with a design to commit the exercise of their office to them as their delegates, an amazing effect is said to have ensued, and one that may justly deter from making the least alteration in the sacred institutions of religion. For though there were at that time twelve families of the Potitii and thirty persons above the age of fourteen years, they all died within the space of one year hereafter, and the whole race became extinct. Nor is it only observed that the name of the Potitii perished upon this occasion, but also that Appius the censor some years after, by the lasting resentment of the Gods, entirely lost the sight of his eyes.

T H E

of preference, the right of beginning the sacrifices, and sharing the flesh of the victims among them. The Pinarii were not permitted to partake of them: and in all the ceremonies, at which it was necessary both families should assist, they were always inferior to the Potitii. This punishment was the effect of their negligence. They were ordered to be at a sacrifice very early in the morning, and did not come till the entrails of the victims were consumed. Nevertheless, adds Dionys. Hal. his priesthood is not continued down, in either of these families, to our time; it is now discharged by slaves, bought with the publick money.

Festus says, that Appius Claudius gave the Potitii fifty thousand asses of brass, for their priesthood, which the censor gave to slaves: and by way of punishment for this contempt, the whole race of the Potitii was, according to him, extirpated, in the space of thirty days. But in this he differs from Val. Maximus; who only says, that thirty persons of that family, which was divided into twelve branches, died at the end of the year.

^s There were several temples dedicated to Hercules in Rome. That here spoken of, was in the ox-market, near the altar dedicated to the same God, and called Ara Maxima.

It was round, but not comparable to the others for magnificence, and had nothing to recommend it but its antiquity. Plutarch, and the author of the lives of illustrious men, say, that women and slaves were forbidden to enter this temple. The mythologists say on this occasion, that as Hercules was returning from Spain, and bringing into Italy the oxen he had taken from Cacus, he was one day very thirsty, and desired a woman to give him some drink, which she refused, (says Aulus Gellius, b. xi.) under pretence, that she and her companions were celebrating a festival in honor to the good goddesses. She urged as the reason of her refusal, that men were by the laws of religion forbidden to taste of any thing which has been offered, on that day, by a woman. This answer, it's said, made Hercules very angry; and he, by way of reprisal, enjoined the Potitii, not to suffer any woman to partake of the sacrifices made in honor to him. Pliny and Solinus relates it, as a miracle, upon the credit of a fabulous tradition, that dogs and flies never came into the temple, of which we are speaking. And they establish the truth of this pretended miracle, upon another yet more ridiculous. According to them, Hercules was much troubled with the

CAHP.

XXX.

C. Junius
Brutus Q.
Æmil. Bar-
bula consuls.
Y. of R. 443.
B. J. C. 309.

THE next consuls C. Junius Bubulcus for the third, and Q. Æmilius Barbula for the second time, in the very beginning of their administration, complained to the people that by a corrupt and unwarrantable election of senators, that honorable order had been disgraced, and some persons been neglected who were far preferable to those enrolled. Wherefore they declared that they would pay no regard to an election which had been made without the least regard to right and wrong, and entirely directed by humor and personal regard, and immediately called the senate according to the roll which had been used be-

the flies, which swarmed about a victim, he was offering to Jupiter ; and in his passion cursed the God Myagros, so called from the name, the Greeks gave those insects. And Pausanias vouches for much such another story. He says, in his description of Greece, that Hercules being much molested by a swarm of flies, had recourse to Jupiter *Ἀπέρωνος*, or fly-chaser : and after he had offered sacrifice to this God, he had the pleasure of seeing these little animals take their flight, and retire beyond the river Alpheus. To which Pliny and Solinus add, that the sight of Hercules's club frightened away the dogs, as he was sacrificing ; and that none of them entered his temple ever after. These fables, how incredible soever, ought to be mentioned, in order thereby to discover the rise of the Roman superstitions. The reader will, no doubt, be surprized at the extravagancies of so monstrous a religion, and at the credulity of those, who could coolly, and deliberately, relate facts of this nature. As to the altar at Rome, called Ara Maxima, it has already been mentioned, p. 8. of the first volume. To which we shall only add, that the Romans had so great a veneration for this ancient monument, that several of them offered up to Hercules the tenths of their goods, on this altar. They pretended to imitate thereby, this

fabulous hero, who sacrificed on this very altar, the tenth part of the oxen he had taken from Geryon. But they, generally speaking, thought to get by this offering. They hoped to have it returned an hundred-fold ; and believed, that it would make them very prosperous. And they founded this hope, on a pretended promise Hercules had made, of greatly enriching those, who should constantly give him a part of their goods. Fulvius mentions an Hercules of gilt brass, which was dug up, in his time, near the place, where the great altar, or Ara Maxima, stood. Marlin says, that it was found in the ruins of an old temple, which was destroyed in the Pontificate of Sixtus IV. The statue is yet to be seen in the apartment of the Conservatores. But it does not seem to be the same statue of Hercules which had been erected in the ox-market. The head of this statue was veiled, according to Macrobius ; who says, Saturnal. b. iii. that it was usual to offer sacrifice in the temple of Hercules, over-against the old altar, bare-headed, out of respect to the God, who was covered. *Custoditur in eodem loco, ut cum aperto capite sacra faciant. Hoc si ne quis in Æde dei habitum ejus imitetur. Nam ibi operto ipse capite ejus.* Whereas, the statue we now have has it's head uncovered.

fore the censorship of Appius Claudius and C. Plautius. This year, for the first time, the people began to confer two offices which had both a relation to military affairs. One of them was that of legionary tribunes, whereof it was proposed that people should elect sixteen for four legions, whereas formerly few places being left to the suffrages of the people, that command had been in almost all instances bestowed by dictators and consuls at their pleasure. This bill was preferred by L. Atilius and C. Marcius. The other was that of naval duumvirs, whom it was proposed, the same people should elect for equipping and refitting their ships. This bill was preferred by M. Decius, another of the tribunes. I should here omit a circumstance in itself scarce worth mentioning, if it did not seem to have a connexion with religion. The musicians who plaid upon the flute taking it amiss, that they had been prohibited by the preceding censors to eat in the temple of Jupiter, according to an ancient tradition, went all together in one company to Tibur, so that there was none left to play before the sacrifices. This raised a religious scruple in the breasts of the senators, and ambassadors were sent to Tibur to endeavor to get these men restored to the Romans. The Tiburtines having in a very obliging manner promised to use their endeavors, first called them to their senate, and exhorted them to return to Rome ; but when no arguments could persuade them, they attacked them with a political contrivance, very well suited to the temper of these men. For upon occasion of a certain festival, one invited one man, another another, under pretence of assisting at the celebration of a feast. As this kind of men are generally exceeding fond of wine, they plied them with it till they were quite intoxicated and fast asleep, then put them in waggons and carried them to Rome ; nor did they perceive how they had been served, till after having passed the remaining part of the night in the forum where
the

CHAP.
xxx.

the waggon's were left, the light opened their eyes, while they were yet full of the fumes of their yesternight's excesses. Upon this the people flocked about them, and having prevailed upon them to stay in their native city, allowed them the privilege of strolling through all the parts of the town, three days every year, playing upon their musical instruments, and indulging themselves in those licentious excesses which are practised in the present age. The privilege of eating in the temple was also restored to such of them as should be employed in playing before the sacrifices. This adventure happened while the Romans were making preparations for two very dangerous wars.

CHAP.
xxxI.

THE consuls having shared the provinces between them, it was Junius's lot to march against the Samnites, and Æmilius's to manage the war, which was but just breaking out in Hetruria. Though the Samnites could not reduce Cluvia, a Roman garison in their country, by force of arms, they so straitened it by a blockade, that it was obliged to yield for want of provisions. But when the besieged surrendered themselves, they first scourged them with rods in an inhuman manner, and afterwards put them to death. Julius highly provoked at this instance of barbarity, thought he ought by all means to begin the campaign with the siege of Cluvia. Accordingly he took it by storm the very day he came before it and put all the men that were arrived at the years of maturity to the sword. From thence he led his victorious army to Bovianum, which was the capital city of the Pentri, and by far the most rich and powerful of all that country both with respect to men and arms. As the Romans were not so much incensed against the inhabitants of this city, the soldiers inspired by hopes of plunder became masters of the town, but made not such havock among the enemies they found in it as they had done at Cluvia. The booty taken here was rather greater than had been brought out of Samnium,



Samnium, but the consul generously bestowed it all upon the soldiers. After this success the principal men among the Samnites being sensible that the Romans were become so powerful, that none of their armies, camps nor towns could stand before them, thought of nothing but how to catch them by an ambuscade, in case their army should be allowed to scatter and pillage the country, and thereby leave room for surprize. To favor this design, some deserters of that country and prisoners, who either fell into his hands by chance or had thrown themselves purposely in his way, informed the consul, that a vast number of cattle was driven into a forest which lay far out of the way^a. As they all agreed in their accounts, and indeed their information was so far true, he was prevailed upon to march with some of the nimblest of his legions to carry off that booty. But a great army of the enemies, who had secretly beset all the passes, no sooner found the Romans had entered the forest, than they started up all of a sudden, and fell upon them with

^a In Campania, there was so thick a forest between Cumæ and Puteoli, that it is said, the wild beasts could scarce penetrate into it. In the midst of this forest was a lake of sulphureous water, which emitted so malignant a vapor, that the birds which flew over it, were thought to be suffocated by the infection of the air. The poets call it the mouth of hell. The lake was called Avernus. Virgil ascribes this infectious quality to a deep cave in the neighborhood. The Avernus was surrounded with hills, covered with a very thick forest, which the pagans had superstitiously consecrated, as a venerable place. This lake was not above five stadia in compass, according to Strabo; but he says it was an abyss, and no bottom could ever be found in any part of it: and for this reason the poets fancied it had a communication with hell. But nevertheless, it was sounded some ages after, and found to be three thousand five hundred and seventy foot deep. According

to Maximus of Tyre, the fabulous cave we have been speaking of uttered oracles. Before any person was admitted into it, sacrifices were offered, and libations made, and certain prayers addressed, to the infernal Gods. After this, he who came to consult the oracle, called up the soul of a dead relation or friend: upon which the phantom appeared, answered his questions, and revealed to him what should happen. Near this lake there were several springs of warm water, in which were found some little black fish, of a very bad taste; and those of the lake were of the same color, and smelt of sulphur. Near this place are the remains of a sumptuous temple, which is said to have been dedicated to Pluto. And Diodorus Siculus, book iv. speaks of another temple built by Hercules, in honor to Proserpine. But the mineral waters near the Avernus make some think that these ruins are the remains of a magnificent bath.

a terrible shout. This attack put them in some consternation, as it was altogether unexpected, but the surprize lasted only till they took their arms and laid their knapsacks together in a heap, for as soon as they had disengaged themselves of their burdens^b and got their arms in order they run from all quarters to their standards, and as they perfectly knew their own ranks, by a long acquaintance with military di-

^b It is difficult to conceive how a Roman soldier, completely armed, could be able to make long marches, without sinking under the vast weight he carried. And yet all the Roman historians positively declare, that the legionaries were often obliged to carry provisions, as bisket, salt meat, &c. for fifteen days, and sometimes for a month; besides their heavy offensive and defensive weapons, and the utensils necessary for common use, and their military works; and besides, a certain number of stakes for palisades for their camp, and the instruments for cutting wood, and other necessities for the army, as there was occasion. Insomuch, that the Spaniards compared Marius's soldiers to mules, as Plutarch tells us, in his life of that general. Men born in a city wholly given to war, and who commenced soldiers as soon as they came into the world, must be such. This martial genius was hereditary in a nation which placed their chief glory in heroical actions. It is well known, that all the nobility, as well as people, were, without any distinction, obliged to serve their country in the legions, a certain number of years. Every one considered himself, in his most tender age, as a person indispensably obliged by the laws, to make arms his profession. These sentiments were transmitted from father to son, and by the education of the youth, their natural genius for war was improved. The young Romans, being first biased by the instructions and examples of their parents, soon learned to be content with little, and keep themselves within the bounds of temperance; and being afterwards inured to all bodily exercises, they insensibly accustomed themselves to bear

the fatigues and hardships of a laborious and abstemious life, and became robust men. With this view, they were continually exercised in throwing darts, running, wrestling, riding, swimming, and carrying heavy burdens: and from hence came the name of Exercitus, which the Latins gave to an army, or body of men trained to war. When they were once enlisted, they were often tried with very long and painful marches, even in times of peace; and were employed in the labors which are not to be avoided in camps, and sieges; that is, in removing of ground, digging ditches, making trenches, raising ramparts, and drawing lines of circumvallation, and contravallation. The Romans had no pioneers, as a distinct body from the rest of the soldiers; they were every man of them as indafatigable in their labors, as formidable in the heat of action. All the historians confirm this; as Tully also expressly does, in these words, Tusculan. b. ii. *Nostri exercitus primum unde nomen habeant vides; deinde quis labor, & quantus agminis! ferre plus dimidiati mensis laboria, ferre si quid ad usum velint, ferre vallum. Nam scutum, gladium, galeam, nostri milites, in onere non plus numerant quam humeros, lacertos, manus. Arma enim membra esse militis dicunt. Quæ quidem ita geruntur apte, ut si usus foret, abjectis oneribus, expeditis armis, ut membris, pugnare possint.* If the legionaries were such, in an age when Cicero complains that the Romans were much degenerated from the virtues of their forefathers, what are we to think of those ages which may, by way of eminence, be called the heroical ages of the Romans?

discipline,

discipline, they now ranged themselves in battle array, without any order from their officers. Mean time the consul rode to that place where he observed the danger was greatest, and jumping off his horse “ called Jupiter, Mars, and the rest of the Gods to “ witness, that he had not brought them into that “ place with any intention to acquire glory to himself, but to purchase booty for his troops. Nor “ could any thing be blamed in his conduct, but too “ great an ambition to have his soldiers enriched at “ the enemy’s expence, an imputation indeed from “ which nothing but their valor could save him. “ And this could not fail to do it effectually if they “ would but unanimously agree to fall all at once upon the enemies, who after being beat in the field, “ driven out of their camp, and deprived of their “ towns, had now recourse to secret ambuscades “ and stratagems, as their last refuge, and confided “ in the advantage of their post when they had “ no further dependance upon their arms. But “ where is the place, said he, that can be proof against the Roman bravery ?” and with that put them in mind of the citadels of Fregellæ and Sora, and all the actions wherein the Romans had come off with the victory, notwithstanding the disadvantage of the ground. The soldiers animated by these reflections, and forgetting the difficulties they had to encounter, boldly made up to the enemy’s army, which was posted on the hill directly above them, and though they met with some difficulty in forcing their way up the ascent, as soon as their first standards reached the plain on the top of the eminence, and the troops were sensible that they fought on equal terms, they turned the consternation to the side of those who lay in ambush to surprize them, so that the latter soon dispersed, threw down their arms and fled with precipitation to the skulking places where they had concealed themselves a little before. But their frauds turned to their own disadvantage, for the very places which they intended to improve to

the destruction of the Romans, obstructed themselves in their flight, so that very few of them escaped. In this engagement twenty thousand Samnites were slain, and afterwards the victorious Romans run to seize the prey which the enemies had designedly thrown in their way^c.

CHAP.
XXXII.

WHILST these things passed in Samnium, all the nations of Hetruria, except the Aretini alone, had put themselves in arms and began a terrible war with investing Sutrium, a city in strict alliance with the Romans, and which was a kind of barrier to them with regard to Hetruria. Upon this, Æmilius, one of the consuls, marched an army to save those allies from the severities of a siege, and when he approached the place and posted himself before it, the inhabitants sent plenty of provisions into his camp. The Hetrurians spent the first day in deliberating whether it would be most adviseable to spin out the war, or prosecute it with vigor, but the next, as their generals were fonder of vigorous than safe measures, they gave the signal of battle about sun-rising, and advanced in their arms to the field. As soon as the consul had notice of their motion, he ordered the soldiers to refresh themselves with a seasonable repast, and then take their arms. After these orders were obeyed, and he found them all ready, he commanded the standards to be moved out of the lines and drew up his army in the order of battle at a small distance from the enemy. Both armies stood for some time upon their arms, each waiting till the other should

^c Though our author does not mention that Brutus enjoy'd the honor of a triumph, yet it is certain he triumphed the first of August, which was the sixth Roman month, according to Romulus's calendar, which began with the month of March: and for this reason it was at first Sextilis Mensis. Afterwards it was called Augustus, from the name of Octavius Augustus. Not that this emperor was born in this month, for he was born in September; but because the month Sextilis was distinguished from the rest, by the great events of Augustus's reign. August had thirty days, in Romulus's time; Numa, who did not love even numbers, reduced them to twenty-nine; and Julius Cæsar not only restored this day, but added another to it, and made the whole thirty-one.

set up the shout and begin the battle, so that it was afternoon before any dart was thrown by either side. But in a little time the Hetrurians, for fear the armies should part again without an action, set up a shout, sounded their trumpets, and begun the charge. Nor did the Romans receive them with less courage and bravery. Both armies fought with great fury, but though the Hetrurians had the advantage in point of numbers, the Romans were superior in valor. In this bloody battle many fell on both sides, and all the bravest men were slain, nor did victory declare itself till the second line of the Roman army advanced with fresh courage to relieve the first, that by this time was quite faint with fighting. The Hetrurians, because they had no more fresh troops to support their line of battle, fell bravely round their standards. Never was there an engagement, where so few would have fled, or so many been slain, if the night had not seasonably come on to cover the Hetrurians, who were fully determined to fight to the last man, and die rather than recoil, so that the victorious Romans gave over fighting before their routed enemies. At sun-set the retreat was sounded, and during the night both armies retired to their respective camps. After this action nothing worth mentioning happened at Sutrium, all the rest of that year, because on the one hand the whole first line of the Hetrurians was cut to pieces in that one engagement, and there was scarce so many of their body of reserve left alive as could be a sufficient guard for their camp, whilst on the other the Romans had suffered so extremely, that many more died afterwards of their wounds than fell in the field.

Q. FABIVS, one of the consuls chosen for the next year, was employed to prosecute the war at Sutrium. C. Marcius Rutilus was^a assigned him as

F f 3

his

Q. Fabius
and C. Mar-
cius Ruti-
lius consuls,
Y. of R. 444.
B. J. C. 308.

^a The Fasti Capitolini have given us the surnames of these two con-
suls, which had escaped Livy, or his copyists. The first was surnamed Rullianus ;

CHAP.
XXXIII.

his colleague in the consulate, and as Fabius had brought a reinforcement with him from Rome, so the Hetrurians had also a new army sent them from their own country. Many years had now past without any contentions between the patrician magistrates and the plebeian tribunes, when a family, which, by a kind of fatality, seemed to inherit a constant enmity to the people and their tribunes, gave occasion to new disputes. Appius Claudius the censor, notwithstanding eighteen months, which was the time limited by the *Æmilian law*^b, were expired since he entered upon office, and his colleague C. Plautius had demitted his charge, could by no means be prevailed upon to resign. C. Sempronius was one of the tribunes of the people, and had commenced a plea to oblige him to put an end to his office as censor within the time prescribed by law, a design no less reasonable than it was popular, nor more agreeable to the commons than to every other good man in the state. In the prosecution of this suit, after he had more than once taken notice of the *Æmilian law*, and extolled with the highest praises Marcus *Æmilius* the dictator who had passed it, because he had thereby reduced, to the bounds of eighteen months, an office, which before his time had continued in the same hands for the space of five years, and by this length of it's duration acquired exorbitant power, addressed himself to the censor in the following manner, “ pray tell us, Appius, said he, “ what you would have done, had you been censor “ when C. Furius and M. Geganius were in possession of that office^c? Appius answered, that the “ tribune's question had no great relation to his “ case; for though the *Æmilian law* was binding “ upon these censors, who served at that time, be

Rullianus; the second, besides that of *Rutilus*, which he already had, afterwards got that of *Censorinus* also, as shall be observed in it's proper place. The Greek tables are therefore faulty, in giving the con-

ful *Fabius* the surname of *Rullus*.

^b See vol. i. book iv. chap. 24.

^c Ibid. chap. xxii. towards the end.

“ cau

“ cause it was enacted by the people after they entered upon their office, and the laws last passed are those that are understood to be in full force, yet it could not be extended to him, nor any of those who had served in the censor’s office since that time.”

WHILST Appius was cavilling in this manner to the satisfaction of none that heard him, “ see, Romans, said the other, the true progeny of that Appius, who, when he was elected decemvir for one year, elected himself for the next, the third, though neither chosen by himself nor any one else, retained the power and the badges of that office, and never ceased to continue his usurped power till that same authority which he acquired by usurpation, executed with injustice, and maintained with tyranny, crushed him to pieces in the end. This is the family, Romans, by whose oppression and injustice you were banished out of your native country and obliged to take possession of the sacred mountain, in opposition to which you were obliged to employ the assistance of your tribunes, and on whose account two armies of the Roman people were obliged to post themselves on the Aventine-hill ^a. This is the family which always opposed your bills against usury, and obstructed the passing of the Agrarian laws ^b. This is the family that put a stop to intermarriages between the Patricians and Plebeians, and shut up your way to curule offices ^c. In a word, the Claudian name has been always more fatal to your liberty than that of the Tarquins. Is this then the case pray, Appius Claudius, that though a hundred years have now passed since the time of Æmilius the dictator, and there have been so many censors, men of the highest birth and greatest courage, yet none

CHAP.
XXXIV.

^a Ibid. book iii. from chap. xxxiii. xxvii. to lv.

^c Ibid. book iv. chap. i. to chap.

^b Ibid. book ii. chap. xxiii. and vii.

“ of them has ever read the twelve tables * : none
 “ of them discovered that the law in force was that
 “ which the people enacted last ? The truth is, they
 “ all knew it, and therefore gave obedience to the
 “ Æmilian law, rather than that antiquated one
 “ which was in force at the first institution of cen-
 “ sors, because it was the latest the people had pass-
 “ ed upon that subject, and because wherever there
 “ are two contrary laws, the old is repealed by the
 “ new. Or will you say Appius, that the people
 “ are not bound to submit to the Æmilian law ?
 “ or that the people are indeed bound to submit to
 “ it, but you are the only person who are above
 “ all laws ? These two furious censors, Caius Furius
 “ and M. Geganius found themselves obliged to sub-
 “ mit to the Æmilian law, though in their conduct
 “ they gave a flagrant instance of the mischief these
 “ officers are capable to do in the state, when they
 “ degraded from his tribe Mamercus Æmilius, one
 “ of the most considerable men of the age, both in
 “ the cabinet and in the field. All the censors since
 “ that time for the space of no less than an hundred
 “ years have submitted to it. Your own colleague
 “ C. Plautius submits to it, though he was elected
 “ with the same auspices and vested with the same
 “ privileges you are yourself. Did not the peo-
 “ ple intend to invest him, at his creation with
 “ all the rights that are consistent with the office of
 “ censor ? Or are you the only person superior to
 “ all others, who have a right to this special and
 “ distinguishing privilege ? Will you allow that the
 “ person whom you have created king at the sacri-
 “ fices, should explain that title in the most extensive
 “ sense, and pretend that he is sufficiently authorised
 “ to act as king of Rome in the strongest meaning
 “ of that expression ? If this is the case, who, do
 “ you think, would be satisfied with dictatorial
 “ power limited to the space of six months, or dur-
 “ ing an interregnum, content to rule only for five

* Ibid. book iii. chap. xxxiv.

“ days ? At this rate, is there any person, in whom
 “ you have such confidence ; as to venture to create
 “ him dictator merely for the ceremony of driv-
 “ ing a nail, or presiding at the public diversions ?
 “ What dastards and fools, do you imagine, Ap-
 “ pius thinks those great men to have been, who,
 “ after performing glorious exploits, resigned their
 “ dictatorships within the short space of twenty days,
 “ or demitted their charges when it was found that
 “ any necessary formality was not observed in their
 “ creation ? But what need I have recourse to an-
 “ cient times for instances of this kind ? When we
 “ have one within these ten years in the person of
 “ C. Mænius^d, who when he carried on an inquisi-
 “ tion

^d We should have observed under Mænius's dictatorship, p. 420, the remarks made on our author by the fathers Catrou and Rouillè, in the xviii. book of the Roman history, under 433, and 443d year of Rome according to their calculation. They observe as follows. “ The Fasti Capi-
 “ tolini mention three dictators one
 “ after another, under the year of
 “ Rome, four hundred and thirty-
 “ three. And Livy is here again de-
 “ fective. Being deceived by imper-
 “ fect memoirs, and incorrect annals,
 “ he entirely omits two of these
 “ magistrates. That Caius Mænius
 “ was one of the dictators for this
 “ year, is unquestionable matter of
 “ fact, though the Roman historian
 “ says not one word of it. This is
 “ sufficiently evident from the Fasti
 “ Capitolini ; in which we find the
 “ same Caius Mænius promoted to
 “ the dictatorship a second time, six
 “ years after this in the four hundred
 “ and thirty third year of Rome, in
 “ order to settle the affairs of the re-
 “ public ; *Rei Gerundæ causâ*. He
 “ must therefore have been invested
 “ with the supreme magistracy six
 “ years before, that he might admi-
 “ nister justice with absolute autho-
 “ rity ; *Quæstionum exercendarum*
 “ *causâ*. Livy has confounded these
 “ two dictatorships, and made them
 “ but one, which he places under
 “ the year of Rome four hundred
 “ and thirty-nine. Mænius was then,
 “ according to the Fasti Capitolini,

“ elected dictator a second time,
 “ and Rome entrusted him with the
 “ whole administration. She then
 “ promoted him *Rei Gerundæ causâ*.
 “ and not in order to his making an
 “ enquiry into the crimes committed
 “ against the state ; not *Quæstionum*
 “ *exercendarum causâ*, as Livy expres-
 “ ses it : For that was the business
 “ of his first dictatorship, in the
 “ year of Rome four hundred and
 “ thirty-three. Thus the Latin hi-
 “ storian is doubly mistaken ; first,
 “ in making Caius Mænius to have
 “ been but once dictator ; and se-
 “ condly, in misplacing his first dic-
 “ tatorship, which was in the year
 “ four hundred and thirty three,
 “ and carrying it on to the year
 “ four hundred and thirty-nine. In
 “ both these promotions, Mænius
 “ chose Marcus Feslius Flaccinator
 “ for his general of horse ; and
 “ history likewise informs us, that
 “ Luceria was taken twice by the
 “ Romans ; once in the year four
 “ hundred and thirty-three, which
 “ was Mænius's first dictatorship ;
 “ and again in the year four hundred
 “ and thirty-nine, which was the
 “ year in which he was dictator a se-
 “ cond time. So that the resemblance
 “ of the names and events of these
 “ two years, might probably lead
 “ Livy into this mistake and o-
 “ mission. Besides, he himself makes
 “ Publius Sempronius, a tribune
 “ of the people, say, in the year
 “ four hundred and forty-three,
 “ that

CHAP. “ tion against those who had been concerned in plots
 XXXIV. “ against the state with greater strictness than was
 “ consistent with the safety of some great men, was
 “ accused by his enemies of a concern in the crime
 “ which by the intention of his office he ought to sup-
 “ press, and therefore that he might have access in a
 “ private character to wipe off the aspersions, imme-
 “ diately resigned his dictatorial power. I shall not
 “ demand of you such an instance of moderation and
 “ self-denial, nor that you swerve in the least from
 “ the consummate pride and haughtiness of your
 “ family, by throwing up your office a day or an hour
 “ sooner than is necessary, providing you will not
 “ continue it beyond the period fixed by law. It is
 “ crime enough to add one month or even a day to
 “ the legal duration of the censor’s office. But I,
 “ says Appius, will maintain my censorship three
 “ years and an half longer than the Æmilian law
 “ allows, and I will have the sole exercise of that

“ that it was then ten years since
 “ Mænius was dictator, with an ab-
 “ solute power only to make enquiry
 “ into state crimes, and settle the dis-
 “ orders which had crept in among
 “ the nobility, *Quæstionum exercenda-*
 “ *rum causa*. Whereas, if with Livy
 “ we place this dictatorship in the
 “ year four hundred and thirty-nine,
 “ it will scarce have been four hun-
 “ dred and forty-three. In order there-
 “ fore to make up this space of ten
 “ years, we must necessarily carry Mæ-
 “ nius’s first dictatorship, which was
 “ given him *Quæstionum exercendarum*
 “ *causa*, to the year four hundred and
 “ thirty-three; and place his second,
 “ with which he was invested *Rei ge-*
 “ *rundæ causa*, to the year four hun-
 “ dred and thirty-nine; as the *Fasti*
 “ *Capitolini* direct us. What Sem-
 “ pronius here says confirms what
 “ we have before observed, from the
 “ *Fasti Capitolini*, concerning the
 “ two dictatorships of Mænius; the
 “ first, in the year of Rome four
 “ hundred and thirty-three; the se-
 “ cond, seven years after, in the
 “ year of Rome four hundred and
 “ thirty-nine. Livy entirely omits the

“ former, and mentions only the
 “ latter. But if Mænius had been
 “ but once dictator, as that histo-
 “ rian declares, Sempronius must
 “ have been mistaken, in reckoning
 “ ten years between the year four
 “ hundred and thirty-nine, and this
 “ year, which was the four hundred
 “ and forty-third. For want of
 “ considering, that Mænius was
 “ twice dictator, some commentators
 “ have taken much pains to explain
 “ the text of Livy; and finding it im-
 “ possible to make out the ten years,
 “ which Sempronius mentions in his
 “ harangue, they have recourse to
 “ arbitrary conjectures. Indeed, it
 “ is surprizing that Livy himself
 “ should not have perceived the
 “ mistake; or if he did, it is still
 “ more so, that he should not have
 “ taken care to remove the contra-
 “ diction between his text, and
 “ Sempronius’s speech. But afte-
 “ all, this inadvertency is a proo-
 “ of the faithfulness of the historian
 “ in giving us the ancient record
 “ entire, and without any altera-
 “ tion.”

“ power

“ power. Why truly this looks very like claiming
 “ a regal authority, or will you choose a colleague
 “ for yourself in the room of Plautius, which you
 “ could not do without impiety, even supposing he
 “ had died before his censorship expired? For your
 “ zeal for religion is not satisfied with taking one of
 “ the most ancient of all our solemn sacrifices, and
 “ the only one instituted by the God to whom it is
 “ offered, out of the hands of priests of the great-
 “ est worth and quality, to lodge it in those of slaves,
 “ so that by means of you and your censorship, a
 “ family of older standing than the foundations of
 “ this city, that had acquired a kind of sanctity by
 “ entertaining the immortal Gods was entirely cut
 “ off root and branch in the space of one year, un-
 “ less you involve the whole state in the crime which
 “ I cannot bear to speak or think of without horror.
 “ Our city was taken in that lustrum, wherein L.
 “ Papirius Cursor, upon the death of C. Julius, that
 “ he might not be obliged to resign his office, sub-
 “ stituted M. Cornelius Maluginensis in his stead?
 “ ^a And pray how much more modest was his am-
 “ bition than yours, Appius; Papirius neither pre-
 “ tended to exercise the office of censor alone, nor
 “ did he extend it beyond the time appointed by
 “ law, yet he found none that would afterwards
 “ follow his example, for all the succeeding censors
 “ resigned their office upon the death of their col-
 “ leagues; but as for you, you don’t mind that the
 “ term appointed for your office is elapsed, nor that
 “ your colleague has resigned his charge. Modesty,
 “ and the laws of your country are no restraints up-
 “ on you, for you act as if you thought virtue con-
 “ sisted in haughtiness, impudence, and insolent con-
 “ tempt of Gods and men. For my own part,
 “ Appius Claudius, out of regard to the dignity of
 “ the station in which you once served the state, I
 “ will be so far from laying violent hands upon you,

^a See book v. chap. xxxi.

CHAP. “ that I would not choose to drop a rough or dis-
 XXXIV. “ obliging expression in expostulating with you ;
 “ what I have hitherto done has been extorted by
 “ your obstinacy and pride, which obliges me to
 “ tell you further, that unless you subject yourself
 “ to the Æmilian law, I will order you to be carried
 “ to prison. And since our ancestors have made a
 “ regulation, that unless at the election of cenfors
 “ there be two who have the number of suffrages
 “ appointed by law, the comitia shall be prorogued
 “ without declaring any duly elected, I will not
 “ suffer that you, who could not have been elected
 “ alone, to exercise that office without a colleague.”
 Having advanced these and other things to the same
 purpose, he ordered the cenfor to be apprehended and
 carried to prison ; but though six tribunes seconded
 their colleague Sempronius, at the earnest solicitation
 of Appius, three interposed in his favor, and to the
 great dissatisfaction of all ranks, he exercised the
 cenfor’s office alone.

The End of the SECOND VOLUME.



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the ROMAN HISTORY, by TIT. LIVIUS of *Padua*.

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of R. | Ref.
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of R. | Ref.
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| 330 | 422 | A. Semp. Atratinus,
L. Q. Cincinnatus,
L. Fur. Medullinus,
L. Hor. Barbatur. | 6 | 5 | 342 | 410 | M. Cornel. Cossus,
L. Fur. Medullinus. | 81 | 32 |
| 331 | 421 | Ap. Claud. Crassus,
Sp. Naut. Rutilus,
L. Sergius Fidenas,
S. Julius Iulus. | 7 | ibid. | 343 | 409 | Q. Fab. Ambustus,
C. Fur. Pacilus. | 82 | 34 |
| | | Consuls. conf. | | | 344 | 408 | M. P. Atratinus,
C. Naut. Rutilus. | 83 | ibid. |
| 332 | 420 | C. Sem. Atratinus,
Q. Fab. Vibulanus. | 79 | 7 | 345 | 407 | Mamer. Æmilius,
C. Val. Potitus. | 84 | 35 |
| | | Mil. tribunes with mil.
consular power. trib. | | | 346 | 406 | Cn. Corn. Cossus,
L. Fur. Medullinus. | 85 | 37 |
| 333 | 419 | L. M. Capitolinus,
Q. Ant. Merenda,
L. P. Mugillanus. | 8 | 15 | | | Mil. tribunes with mil.
consular power. trib. | | |
| | | Consuls. conf. | | | 347 | 405 | C. Julius Iulus,
P. Cornel. Crassus,
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| 334 | 418 | N. Fab. Vibulanus,
T. Q. Capitolinus. | 80 | 16 | 348 | 404 | L. Fur. Medullinus,
C. Valerius Potitus,
N. Fab. Vibulanus,
C. Servilius Ahala. | 17 | 44 |
| | | Mil. tribunes with mil.
consular power. trib. | | | 349 | 403 | P. Cornelius Cossus,
Cn. Cornel. Cossus,
N. Fab. Ambustus,
L. Val. Potitus. | 18 | 45 |
| 335 | 417 | L. Q. Cincinnatus,
L. Fur. Medullinus,
M. Manlius,
A. Sem. Atratinus. | 9 | 19 | 350 | 402 | T. Q. Capitolinus,
P. Q. Cincinnatus,
C. Julius Iulus,
A. Manlius,
L. Fur. Medullinus,
M. Æ. Mamercinus. | 19 | 50 |
| 336 | 416 | Ag. Men. Lanatus,
P. L. Tricipitinus,
Sp. Nautius,
C. Servilius. | 10 | 21 | 351 | 401 | C. Val. Potitus,
M. Serg. Fidenas,
P. C. Maluginensis,
Cn. Corn. Cossus,
Cæso F. Ambustus,
Sp. Naut. Rutilus. | 20 | ibid. |
| 337 | 415 | L. Serg. Fidenas,
M. P. Mugillanus,
C. Servilius. | 11 | 22 | | | Manius Æmilius
Mamercinus,
M. Val. Potitus,
Ap. Claud. Crassus,
M. Quinct. Varus,
L. Julius Iulus,
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M. Posth. Albinus. | 21 | 53 |
| 338 | 414 | Ag. Men. Lanatus,
L. Serv. Struētus,
P. L. Tricipitinus,
Sp. Rutilus Crassus. | 12 | 25 | 352 | 400 | | | |
| 339 | 413 | A. Sem. Atratinus,
M. P. Mugillanus,
Sp. Naut. Rutilus. | 13 | 26 | | | | | |
| 340 | 412 | P. Cornelius Cossus,
C. Valer. Potitus,
Quin. Cincinnatus,
N. Fab. Vibulanus. | 14 | 27 | 353 | 399 | C. Serv. Ahala,
Q. Servilius,
L. Virginus,
Q. Sulpicius,
A. Manlius,
Manius Sergius. | 22 | 66 |
| 341 | 411 | Q. Fab. Vibulanus,
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L. Valer. Potitus,
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| 354 | 398 | L. Val. Potitus,
M. Fur. Camillus,
Manius Æmil. Ma-
mercinus,
Cn. Corn. Cossus,
Cæso Fab. Ambus-
tus,
L. Julius Iulus. | 23 | 69 | 364 | 388 | L. Lucretius,
Servius Sulpicius,
M. Æmilius,
L. F. Medullinus,
Agrippa Furius,
C. Æmilius. | 31 | 10 |
| 355 | 397 | P. Licinius Calvus,
P. Mænius,
L. Titinius,
P. Mælius,
L. Furius Medul-
linus,
L. Publi. Volsius. | 24 | 74 | 365 | 387 | Q. Sulpic. Longus,
Q. Servilius,
Serv. Corn. Malu-
ginensis,
3 Fabii. | 32 | 11 |
| 356 | 396 | M. Veturius,
M. Pomponius,
C. Duilius,
Volero Publius,
Cn. Genucius,
L. Atilius. | 25 | 75
76 | 366 | 386 | L. Val. Poplicola,
L. Virginus,
P. Cornelius,
A. Manlius,
L. Æmilius,
L. Posthumus. | 33 | 14 |
| 357 | 395 | L. Val. Potitus,
M. Val. Maximus,
M. Fur. Camillus,
L. F. Medullinus,
Q. Serv. Fidenas,
Q. Sul. Camerinus. | 26 | 78 | 367 | 385 | T. Q. Cincinnatus,
Q. Serv. Fidenas,
Julius Iulus,
L. Aquil. Corvus,
L. Lucretius Trici-
pitanus.
Serv. Sulp. Rufus. | 34 | 15 |
| 358 | 394 | L. Julius Iulus,
L. Fur. Medullinus,
L. Serg. Fidenas,
A. Post. Regillensis,
P. C. Maluginensis,
A. Manlius. | 27 | 80 | 368 | 384 | L. Papirius,
C. Cornelius,
C. Sergius,
L. Æmilius,
L. Menenius,
L. Val. Poplicola. | 35 | 16 |
| 359 | 393 | P. Licinius,
L. Titinius,
P. Mænius,
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Cn. Genucius,
L. Atilius. | 28 | 84 | 369 | 383 | M. Fur. Camillus,
S. C. Maluginensis,
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| 360 | 392 | P. Corn. Cossus,
P. Cornel. Scipio,
M. Val. Maximus,
Cæso F. Ambustus,
L. Fur. Medullinus,
Q. Servilius. | 29 | 93 | 370 | 382 | A. Manlius,
P. Cornelius,
T. Q. Capitolinus,
L. Q. Capitolinus,
L. Papirius Cursor,
C. Sergius. | 37 | 18 |
| 361 | 391 | M. Fur. Camillus,
L. Fur. Medullinus,
C. Æmilius,
L. Val. Poplicola,
Sp. Posthumus,
P. Cornelius. | 30 | 97 | 371 | 381 | S. C. Maluginensis,
P. Val. Potitus,
M. Fur. Camillus,
Ser. Sulp. Rufus,
C. Papirius Crassus,
T. Q. Cincinnatus. | 38 | 19 |
| 362 | 390 | Consuls. conf.
L. Lucret. Flaccus,
Ser. Sul. Camerinus. | 86 | 102 | 372 | 380 | L. Valerius,
A. Manlius,
Ser. Sulpicius,
L. Lucretius,
L. Æmilius,
M. Trebonius. | 39 | 20 |
| 363 | 389 | L. Val. Potitus,
M. Manlius. | 87 | 105 | 373 | 379 | Sp. Papirius,
L. Papirius,
S. C. Maluginensis,
Q. Se | 40 | |

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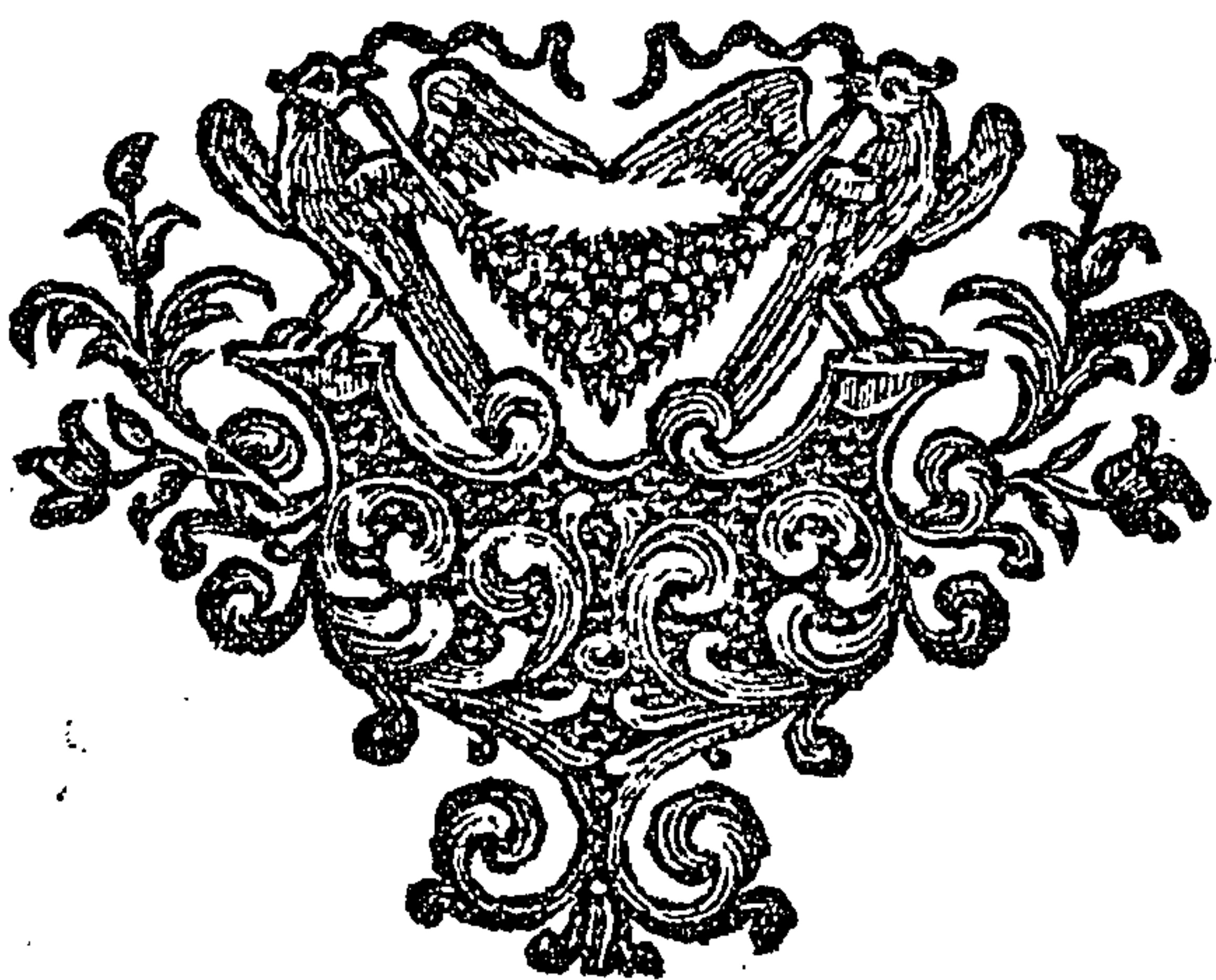
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| 374 | 378 | M. Fur. Camillus,
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L. Posthum. Reg.
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M. Fab. Ambustus. | 41 | ibid. |
| 375 | 377 | L. Valerius,
P. Valerius,
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Sp. Papirius,
S. C. Maluginensis. | 42 | 190 |
| 376 | 376 | P. Manlius,
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L. Julius,
C. Sextilius,
M. Albinus,
L. Antistius. | 43 | 195 |
| 377 | 375 | Sp. Furius,
Q. Servilius,
C. Licinius,
P. Clælius,
M. Horatius,
L. Geganius. | 44 | 196 |
| 378 | 374 | L. Æmilius,
P. Valerius,
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L. Q. Cincinnatus,
C. Q. Cincinnatus. | 45 | 198 |
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vening years
without any
supreme ma-
gistrate. | | | | |
| 385 | 367 | L. Furius,
A. Manlius,
Ser. Sulpicius,
Ser. Cornelius,
P. Valerius,
C. Valerius. | 46 | 205 |
| 386 | 366 | Q. Servilius,
C. Veturius,
A. Cornelius,
M. Cornelius,
Q. Quinctius,
M. Fabius. | 47 | ibid. |
| 387 | 365 | T. Quinctius,
Ser. Cornelius,
Ser. Sulpicius,
Sp. Servilius,
L. Papirius,
L. Veturius. | 48 | 208 |

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| 388 | 364 | A. Cornelius,
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M. Geganius,
P. Manlius,
L. Veturius,
P. Valerius.
Consuls. | 49 | 218 |
| 389 | 363 | L. Sextius,
L. Æ. Mamercinus. | 88 | 222 |
| 390 | 362 | L. Genucius,
Q. Servilius. | 89 | 223 |
| 391 | 361 | C. Sulpic. Pæticus,
C. Licinius Stolo. | 90 | 224 |
| 392 | 360 | Cn. Genucius,
L. Æmilius. | 91 | 227 |
| 393 | 359 | C. Servilius Ahala,
L. Genucius. | 92 | 229 |
| 394 | 358 | C. Sulpicius,
C. Licinius Calvus. | 93 | 235 |
| 395 | 357 | M. Fab. Ambustus,
C. Pætilius Balbus. | 94 | 239 |
| 396 | 356 | M. Popillius Lænas,
C. Manlius. | 95 | 240 |
| 397 | 355 | C. Fabius,
C. Plautius. | 96 | 241 |
| 398 | 354 | Cn. Marcius,
Cn. Manlius. | 97 | 247 |
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| 400 | 352 | C. Sulp. Pæticus,
M. Val. Poplicola. | 99 | 251 |
| 401 | 351 | M. Fab. Ambustus,
T. Quinctius. | 100 | 252 |
| 402 | 350 | C. Sulp. Pæticus,
M. Val. Poplicola. | 101 | 253 |
| 403 | 349 | M. Val. Poplicola,
C. Marcius Rutilus. | 102 | 256 |
| 404 | 348 | C. Sulpic. Pæticus,
T. Quinct. Pennus. | 103 | 258 |
| 405 | 347 | M. Popillius Lænas,
L. Cornel. Scipio. | 104 | 259 |
| 406 | 346 | L. Fur. Camillus,
Ap! Claud. Crassus. | 105 | 262 |
| 407 | 345 | M. Val. Corvus,
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| 408 | 344 | T. M. Torquatus,
C. Plautius. | 107 | 267 |
| 409 | 343 | M. Val. Corvus,
O. Pætelius. | 108 | ibid. |
| 410 | 342 | M. Fab. Dorso,
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| 411 | 341 | C. Mar. Rutilus,
T. Man. Torquatus. | 110 | ibid. |
| 412 | 340 | M. Val. Corvus,
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| 413 | 339 | C. Marcius Rutilus,
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M. Æ. Mamercinus, | 113 | 299 | 429 | 323 | C. Pætelius,
L. Pap. Mugillanus. | 128 | 34 |
| 415 | 337 | T. M. Torquatus,
P. Decius Mus. | 114 | 302 | 430 | 322 | L. Fur. Camillus,
Jun. Brut. Scæva. | 129 | 35 |
| 416 | 336 | T. Æ. Mamercinus,
Q. Publilius. | 115 | 321 | 431 | 321 | C. Sulpicius,
Q. Aulius. | 130 | 36 |
| 417 | 335 | L. Fur. Camillus,
C. Mænius. | 116 | 323 | 432 | 320 | Q. Fabius,
L. Fulvius. | 131 | 36 |
| 418 | 334 | C. Sulpicius,
P. Ælius. | 117 | 327 | 433 | 319 | T. Veturius,
Sp. Posthumius. | 132 | 37 |
| 419 | 333 | L. Papirius Crassus,
Cæso Duilius. | 118 | 328 | 434 | 318 | Q. Publilius,
L. Papirius. | 133 | 38 |
| 420 | 332 | T. Val. Corvus,
M. Atil. Regulus. | 119 | 329 | 435 | 317 | L. Papirius,
Q. Aulius. | 134 | 40 |
| 421 | 331 | T. Veturius,
Sp. Posthumius. | 120 | 330 | 436 | 316 | M. Fostius,
L. Plautius. | 135 | 41 |
| 422 | 330 | A. Cornelius,
Cn. Domitius. | 121 | 331 | 437 | 315 | C. Junius.
Q. Æmilius. | 136 | 41 |
| 423 | 329 | M. Cl. Marcellus,
C. Valerius. | 122 | 332 | 438 | 314 | Sp. Nautius,
M. Popillius. | 137 | ibid. |
| 424 | 328 | L. Papirius,
C. Pætelius. | 123 | omit.
by
our auth. | 439 | 313 | L. Papirius,
Q. Publilius. | 138 | 412 |
| 425 | 327 | L. Papirius Crassus,
L. Plaut. Venno. | 124 | | 440 | 312 | M. Pætelius,
C. Sulpicius. | 139 | 416 |
| 426 | 326 | L. Æ. Mamercinus,
C. Plautius. | 125 | 335 | 441 | 311 | L. Papir. Cursor,
C. Jun. Bubulcus. | 140 | 42 |
| 427 | 325 | P. Plaut. Proculus,
P. Corn. Scapula. | 126 | 338 | 442 | 310 | M. Valerius,
P. Decius. | 141 | 426 |
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| —— T. Mamer- | | |

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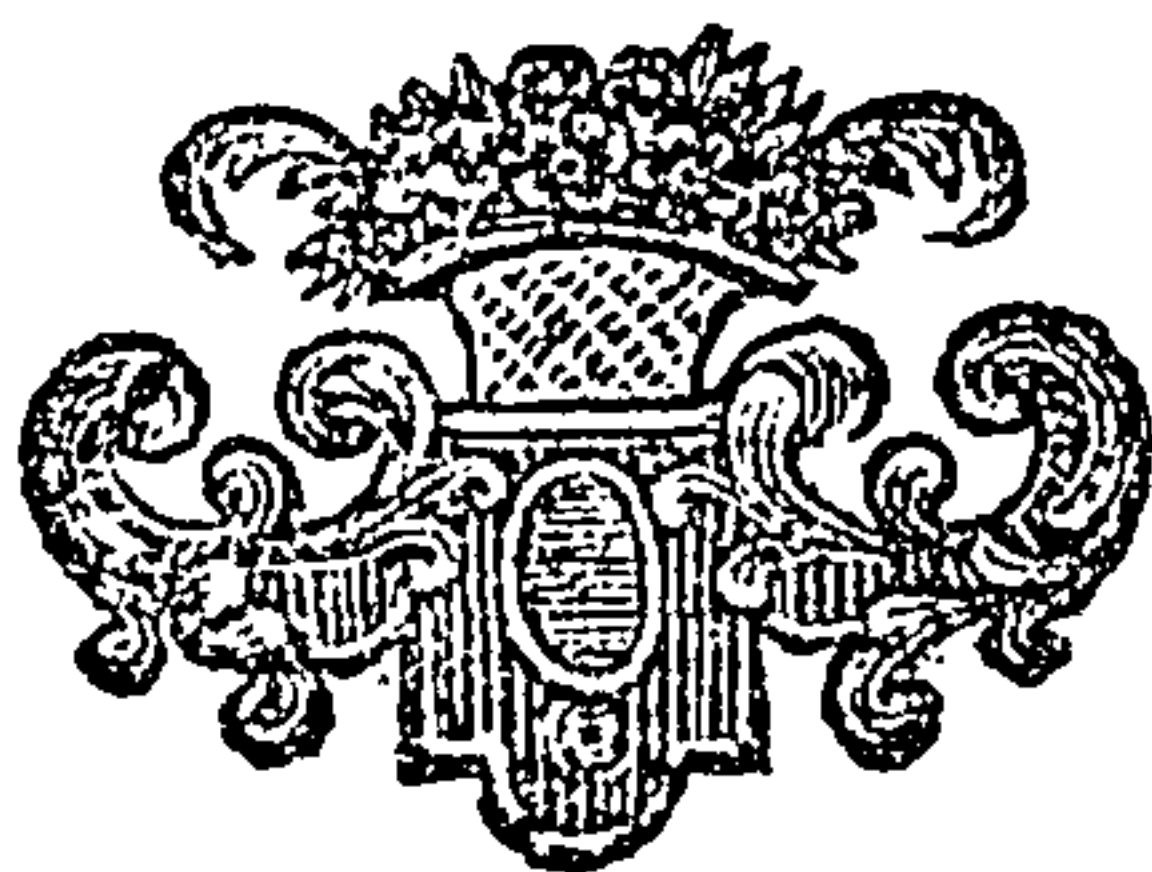
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